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**U.S.  
PARTICIPATION  
IN THE UN**



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**REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE  
CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1967**

## Abbreviations and Short Forms

- ACABQ — Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions  
ACC — Administrative Committee on Coordination  
Committee of 14— Ad Hoc Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies  
Committee of 24— Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples  
Committee of 33— Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations  
ECA — Economic Commission for Africa  
ECAFE — Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East  
ECE — Economic Commission for Europe  
ECLA — Economic Commission for Latin America  
ECOSOC — Economic and Social Council  
ENDC — Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee  
FAO — Food and Agriculture Organization  
GATT — General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade  
IAEA — International Atomic Energy Agency  
IBRD — International Bank for Reconstruction and Development  
ICAO — International Civil Aviation Organization  
IDA — International Development Association  
ILO — International Labor Organization  
IMCO — Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization  
IMF — International Monetary Fund  
ITU — International Telecommunication Union  
NATO — North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
OECD — Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development  
UNCITRAL— U.N. Commission on International Trade Law  
UNCTAD — U.N. Conference on Trade and Development  
UNCURK — U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea  
UNDP — U.N. Development Program  
UNEF — U.N. Emergency Force  
UNESCO — U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization  
UNFICYP — U.N. Force in Cyprus  
UNHCR — Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees  
UNICEF — U.N. Children's Fund  
UNIDO — U.N. Industrial Development Organization  
UNITAR — U.N. Institute for Training and Research  
UNRWA — U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East  
UNSCEAR — U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation  
UNTSO — U.N. Truce Supervision Organization  
UPU — Universal Postal Union  
WHO — World Health Organization  
WMO — World Meteorological Organization

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CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1967**

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**International Organization and Conference Series 81**

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**BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AFFAIRS**

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# LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

## *The President of the United States*

*To the Congress of the United States:*

I am pleased to transmit the 22nd annual report on the participation of the United States in the vital work of the United Nations.

1967 was a year in which peace was challenged on three major fronts. On two of these fronts—the Middle East and Cyprus—the United Nations played a significant role in averting a wider conflict. We were not successful in our efforts to have the United Nations contribute to the search for peace in Viet-Nam, but there is still hope that the U.N. can help us find and implement an honorable settlement.

In the Middle East, despite all attempts to achieve a peaceful accommodation, war broke out in June of 1967. The Security Council, with the full support and encouragement of the United States, called for a cease-fire, which was accepted by both sides.

U.N. observers were posted on the cease-fire lines between Israel and the U.A.R. and between Israel and Syria. Though the peace was still tenuous, the Security Council was able to begin the difficult quest for a durable settlement. The principles for settlement adopted by the Council resolution were entirely consistent with those suggested and supported by the United States.

In November, war nearly erupted between Greece and Turkey over the island of Cyprus. The tension was greatly eased by the diplomatic efforts of my personal representative, Cyrus Vance. Appeals by the Secretary-General, with the complementary action of the Security Council, contributed to a peaceful accommodation.

But the broad purpose of the United Nations goes beyond peacemaking: It can lift human beings from the dark despair of hunger and poverty and disease and ignorance. This report shows that in 1967 several major steps were taken to improve social and economic conditions in many parts of the world—through the U.N. Development Program, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the many other agencies and commissions which bring hope and compassion to the neglected corners of the world.

The U.N. also acted to extend international law to outer space, and a committee was created to study the unknown benefits—and the unforeseen problems—that will arise from the future use of the ocean depths.

In its 23 years of existence, the United Nations has not always succeeded in its humanitarian goals. But where it has failed, no other creation of man has yet succeeded. The U.N. continues to be man's best hope for a world of peace and progress, where conflict is replaced by cooperation, and violence by the rule of reason.

I commend this report to your attention.



THE WHITE HOUSE,  
October 1, 1968.



# *The Secretary of State to the President*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
*Washington, August 17, 1968*

THE PRESIDENT:

Under the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress) the President transmits annually to the Congress a report on United States participation in the United Nations. A report on the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies for the year 1967 has therefore been prepared.

As in previous years, the report is a comprehensive survey of the Government's participation in the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

I recommend that you approve the report for transmittal to the Congress.

Respectfully submitted,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Dean Rusk".

THE PRESIDENT,  
*The White House.*





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*Maintenance  
of Peace  
and Security*

*Part One*

# Disarmament and Arms Control

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## Conference of the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee

The ENDC<sup>1</sup> held two sessions at Geneva in 1967: the first from February 21 to March 23 and the second from May 18 to December 14. The United States and the U.S.S.R. serve as cochairmen of the Committee.

The 21st General Assembly had requested the ENDC to consider a number of arms control questions, the most important of which was a treaty to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons.

President Johnson sent a message to the opening session of the ENDC on February 21 in which he emphasized the importance the United States places on a nonproliferation treaty and his hope that it would soon be possible to recommend draft provisions of such a treaty as a next step in the effort to control nuclear weapons. He warned that failure to stop proliferation would mean the spread

<sup>1</sup> Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, India, Italy, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., the U.A.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States. France has never participated.

of nuclear weapons to potentially unstable areas where open warfare had recently taken place.

The President said that a nonproliferation treaty "must be equitable as between the nuclear and the nonnuclear-weapon powers." He instructed U.S. negotiators "to exercise the greatest care that the treaty not hinder the nonnuclear powers in their development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes." The President recommended that the treaty clearly express the intention of making available the full benefits of peaceful nuclear technology and that it include a broad international system of safeguards satisfactory to all concerned.

To ensure that a treaty would not unfairly penalize nonnuclear countries, the President said that the United States was prepared to join other nuclear-weapon states in making peaceful nuclear explosive services available on a nondiscriminatory basis under appropriate international safeguards.

### NONPROLIFERATION TREATY

After the adjournment of the 1966 session of the ENDC, the cochairmen continued private discussions on the issues that had arisen in negotiations on the draft treaties introduced by the

United States and the Soviet Union in 1965. They agreed to try to work out a single draft treaty that they could recommend to the ENDC for its consideration. Both the United States and the Soviet Union frequently consulted with their allies and the other members of the ENDC during these negotiations.

The first session of the ENDC, therefore, met while private negotiations were continuing. The ENDC's basic guidance was provided by the 21st General Assembly resolution that stressed the importance of the early conclusion of a nonproliferation treaty and called upon the ENDC to give high priority to the question. The U.S. Representative, William C. Foster, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, responding to many of the specific questions raised by other delegations, explained that the treaty must cover peaceful nuclear explosive devices since the technology for these was the same as that for nuclear weapons. He pointed out there would be no economic justification for nonnuclear nations to develop nuclear explosive devices since they would be able to obtain these benefits on a non-discriminatory basis and with considerable savings.

In response to the interest frequently stated by some nonnuclear-weapon nations in security assurances of some kind if they were to give up the right to develop or acquire nuclear weapons, the U.S. Representative said the United States continued to favor U.N. action to deal with this problem, as the United States had proposed at the General Assembly in 1965. Another significant issue involved the Soviet Union's reaffirmation of Premier Kosygin's offer to include in the nonproliferation treaty a ban on the use of nuclear weapons against states that did not have them on their territory. The U.S. Representative refused to concur in the Kosygin proposal because it would discriminate against nonnuclear-weapon countries that belong to alliances

and participate in allied defense arrangements involving the deployment of nuclear weapons on their territory.

#### Draft Treaty

On August 24, at the second ENDC session in 1967, the United States and the Soviet Union tabled separate but identical texts of a draft treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Under the preamble, states would, *inter alia*, undertake to cooperate in facilitating application of IAEA safeguards to peaceful uses of nuclear energy; declare their intent to make available potential benefits of peaceful nuclear explosions to nonnuclear-weapon parties on a nondiscriminatory basis; declare their intention to stop the nuclear arms race; and declare their desire for total nuclear disarmament in the context of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. The preamble also provided that the treaty would not affect the right of states to conclude regional denuclearization treaties.

Under the treaty's operative provisions, nuclear-weapon states would undertake (1) not to transfer to any recipient nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over them, directly or indirectly; and (2) not to assist, encourage, or induce nonnuclear-weapon states to manufacture or acquire them. Nonnuclear-weapon states would undertake (1) not to receive nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over them, directly or indirectly; and (2) not to manufacture, seek assistance in manufacturing, or otherwise acquire them. The article dealing with safeguards was left blank with the announcement that the cochairmen would continue their efforts to reach agreement.

Other provisions stated that the treaty did not affect the right to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and described amendment, review, and withdrawal procedures. In elaborating the U.S. position, the U.S.

Representative said that the cochairmen had tried to take account of the interests of all and that the draft treaty reflected suggestions by various nations. No state was yet committed, since suggestions by ENDC members and other nations would have to be considered.

Contrary to its practice in previous years, the ENDC did not recess prior to the General Assembly and submit a report on its activities to the Assembly. It was the general opinion of the membership that, judging by earlier resolutions of the General Assembly, the negotiation of a nonproliferation treaty was most urgent and justified an extraordinary extension of the ENDC's session. The members of the ENDC, therefore, spent much of the balance of the year trying to record further progress on a treaty.

#### Proposed Amendments

Eight members of the ENDC submitted formal amendments to the draft treaty. Mexico proposed transferring the preambular statement on nuclear-free zones to the operative part of the treaty. Mexico also proposed making it a duty to aid nonnuclear-weapon parties in developing peaceful applications of nuclear energy, and obligating the nuclear-weapon parties to make available to nonnuclear-weapon parties potential benefits from any peaceful applications of nuclear explosions.

Romania, *inter alia*, wished to strengthen the language on nuclear disarmament, declare a ban on the use of nuclear weapons as a goal, and provide for review conferences every 5 years on the treaty.

Some other suggested changes were:

(1) that the development of peaceful nuclear explosive devices not be precluded (Brazil);

(2) that there be IAEA safeguards on all transfers of fissionable material (Sweden);

(3) that there be full application

of IAEA safeguards on all peaceful nuclear activities of nonnuclear-weapon states within 3 years (Sweden); and

(4) that nuclear-weapon states should cooperate in facilitating the gradual application of IAEA safeguards to their peaceful nuclear activities (Sweden).

The cochairmen made preliminary comments on several of the proposed amendments. On October 12 the U.S. Representative expressed his appreciation for the "constructive aim" of the Mexican amendments and indicated that consideration was being given to alternate formulations of the provisions on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, including peaceful nuclear explosions, and to the article on nuclear disarmament.

Neither of the cochairmen wished to link the nonproliferation treaty with the negotiation of other concrete disarmament measures. Although the United States advocated a cutoff on fissionable materials production for weapons purposes, the U.S. Representative warned that linking this measure—which the U.S.S.R. opposed—with the nonproliferation treaty, as India suggested, would only result in failing to achieve either objective.

Some countries had expressed fears that acceptance of international safeguards would interfere with peaceful nuclear development and would permit industrial espionage that would adversely affect their competitive industrial position. There was also concern that the nuclear-weapon states were discriminating against nonnuclear-weapon countries by requiring safeguards that they themselves were unwilling to accept. On December 2 President Johnson expressed the U.S. willingness to accept IAEA safeguards, saying:

We do not believe the safeguards we propose in that treaty will interfere with the peaceful activities of any country.

And I want to make it clear, very clear, to all the world that we in the United States are not asking any country to ac-

cept safeguards that we are unwilling to accept ourselves.

So I am today announcing that when such safeguards are applied under the treaty, the United States will permit the International Atomic Energy Agency to apply its safeguards to all nuclear activities in the United States—excluding only those with direct national security significance.

The cochairmen nevertheless remained unable to agree on a safeguards provision. At the end of the ENDC session on December 14, the U.S. Representative said that the remaining differences had so narrowed down that it seemed inconceivable that agreement could not soon be achieved. What was needed, he said, is agreement on a realistic formulation which deals unambiguously with the substance of the matter, leaving precise arrangements to be settled in the particular agreements that will have to be concluded with the IAEA to carry out the obligations laid down by the safeguards article. He expressed the hope that it would be possible to submit a complete and revised draft treaty at the 1968 session of the ENDC which was scheduled to convene on January 18, 1968.

#### **COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN**

Since the signing of the limited test ban treaty in 1963, there have been continued negotiations on extending the ban to underground nuclear tests. These negotiations have not succeeded because of differences on the question of verification. The United States maintains that some underground events cannot be identified by seismic means alone and that it would therefore be necessary to conduct some on-site inspections in order to provide assurances that the agreement was being observed. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, claims that national means are sufficient to monitor an underground test ban and that no inspec-

tions are needed. Neither side changed its position in the 1967 negotiations.

On June 29 the Swedish Representative in the ENDC said that scientific and technical capability to detect and identify underground events by seismic means had greatly improved. She concluded that on the basis of scientific data a system of deterrent control was possible that involved a low rate of obligatory inspection. At the same time, she reaffirmed her 1966 proposal for "verification by challenge" and argued that this would be useful in some situations even if the treaty should provide for obligatory inspections.

The U.S. Representative said that the U.S. position would be determined by the scientific facts and that the United States was trying to develop procedures to minimize the number of on-site inspections required to verify adequately an underground test ban. He noted that the Swedish criteria could incorrectly identify events in certain regions and that there was little information on the effectiveness of any identification criteria at levels as low as seismic magnitude 4.0.

#### **INTERIM REPORT**

On December 7 the ENDC submitted an interim report to the General Assembly and to the United Nations Disarmament Commission. It reported that it had made substantial progress toward a nonproliferation treaty, although no final draft had yet been achieved. It regretted that it was unable to submit a full report at that time but stated its intention of doing so as soon as possible. It said that it had had a valuable discussion on the test ban question, but had been unable to devote sufficient time to general and complete disarmament or to the elimination of foreign military bases, the other questions that the 21st General Assembly had asked it to consider.



# General Assembly Consideration

When the 22d General Assembly opened September 19, it was expected that there would soon be agreement on a draft nonproliferation treaty so that the ENDC could pass the draft treaty on to the Assembly in time for its consideration. This belief greatly influenced the work of the First (Political and Security) Committee which had eight agenda items relating to disarmament assigned to it. However, since most of these items were to be discussed either in the light of a report from the ENDC which had not yet been received, or were closely tied to a nonproliferation treaty, the First Committee delayed its consideration of most of the arms control questions until late in the session.

## U.S. GENERAL DEBATE STATEMENT

On September 21, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, emphasized to the General Assembly during its general debate the high priority that the United States assigned to negotiation of a nonproliferation treaty. He alluded to the encouraging fact that the United States and the Soviet Union had tabled in August identical drafts of such a treaty complete in all except its safeguard provisions, and said:

Complex problems still remain. But we are hopeful that a complete treaty draft, including a generally acceptable safeguard provision, will be presented to this session in time to allow for consideration and action by the Assembly, under whose general direction and guidance this treaty is being negotiated.

Ambassador Goldberg pointed out the U.S. decision to construct a limited antiballistic-missile system emphasized the urgent importance of pursuing negotiations on a limitation of strategic offensive and defensive missiles. He asserted that true security lies in progress on the entire range of

arms control and disarmament measures—including control of the strategic arms race, a verifiable comprehensive test ban, and a cutoff of production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes.

## LATIN AMERICAN NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE (LANFZ)

The first disarmament item to be considered in committee was the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.

The LANFZ Treaty was negotiated in response to an 18th General Assembly resolution which in 1963 expressed the hope that the Latin American States would initiate studies leading to the denuclearization of Latin America as recommended in the April 1963 Declaration of the Heads of State of five Latin American Republics.

The LANFZ Treaty prohibits the contracting parties from producing, testing, or possessing nuclear weapons in their respective territories, and forbids the receipt or installation of any nuclear weapons. It also establishes an international agency to ensure compliance with the purposes and procedures set forth in the treaty. The principal means for verifying compliance is through the application of IAEA safeguards on the nuclear activities of each signatory and through special inspections.

The LANFZ Treaty has two associated protocols intended for signature by non-Latin American states. The first protocol is open to signature by countries possessing territories within the nuclear-free zone and would apply the provisions of the treaty to those territories. The second protocol is open for signature by the nuclear powers and would bind those that ratify (1) to respect the nuclear-free status of the parties to the treaty, and (2) not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against the parties to the treaty.

On October 23 the Mexican Representative said that the item's sponsors

wanted to explain to the General Assembly the treaty's scope and provisions. He reviewed the treaty's origins in General Assembly actions and in bilateral and multilateral discussions, and recounted its more important provisions and their negotiating history. He discussed, as well, the two protocols associated with the treaty. Finally, he welcomed the favorable attitude toward the treaty of many governments, including several of the nuclear powers, and expressed the hope that the General Assembly would be able to adopt a resolution to help ensure

... that with the cooperation of all states, and particularly the nuclear powers, the Treaty of Tlatelolco can become fully effective and that in practice the juridical status of military denuclearization of Latin America will be universally observed beyond question. That is what it is entitled to, because of the lofty principles upon which it is based and the noble purposes that it is designed to achieve.

On October 26 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Hector P. Garcia, warmly welcomed the conclusion of the LANFZ Treaty. He expressed U.S. support for it since it met basic U.S. requirements for nuclear-free zones:

(1) it originated within the area concerned;

(2) the zone included all states in the area whose participation is deemed important;

(3) the creation of the zone would not disturb necessary security arrangements; and

(4) it included provisions for following up on alleged violations in order to give reasonable assurance of compliance.

The U.S. Representative also assured the Latin American nations that the United States was giving very careful and sympathetic consideration to the signing of Protocol II. Finally, the United States urged the First Committee to commend the treaty unanimously.

On November 28 the Committee recommended by a vote of 79 (U.S.) to 0, with 21 abstentions, the adoption

of a resolution welcoming the treaty and calling upon all states to give their full cooperation to ensure that the regime laid down in the treaty enjoys universal observance. The resolution recommended that both those states that are or may become signatories to the treaty and those states contemplated in Protocol I strive to take all measures to ensure that the treaty obtains the widest possible application among them and, finally, invited the nuclear powers to sign and ratify Protocol II. On December 5 the General Assembly adopted this resolution unchanged, by 82 to 0, with 28 abstentions.

Those abstaining included Guyana and a number of African countries that, although supporting the objectives of the treaty, abstained to indicate their objection to its article 25 (2). In their view, article 25 (2) excludes Guyana from signing because part of its territory is in dispute and thereby prevents universal application of the treaty within the zone.

#### **NONUSE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

On September 22 Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko urged the 22d General Assembly to consider a convention on the nonuse of nuclear weapons. At the same time, the Soviet Union tabled a draft convention which had two principal articles. Under the first, states would undertake to refrain from using nuclear weapons, from threatening to use them, and from inciting other states to use them. Under the second, states would promise to make every effort to arrive as soon as possible at agreement on the cessation of production and the destruction of all stockpiles of nuclear weapons in conformity with a treaty on general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

Speaking in the First Committee on November 20 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adrian S. Fisher, opposed the suggested treaty, under pre-

vailing international conditions, as deceptive, dangerous, and unrealistic, because it did not address itself to the real problem—the nuclear weapons themselves. He elaborated this argument when he said that so long as major nuclear powers have massive stockpiles of nuclear armaments and massive conventional forces arrayed against each other, and there remains the possibility that a massive attack might threaten a country's national survival or the integrity of all or a substantial part of its armed forces, the most effective way to minimize the risk of nuclear war will be through the maintenance of mutual deterrence. Inherent in the preservation of that deterrence is the existence of a capability, even after having absorbed a surprise nuclear first strike, to inflict in turn an unacceptable degree of damage on an aggressor. It is this retaliatory capability that deters aggression.

Referring to the second article of the draft convention, the U.S. Representative observed that the U.S.S.R. appeared to have tacitly recognized at least two important points: first, that its nonuse proposal would not be meaningful unless something were done about nuclear stockpiles; second, that the elimination of nuclear weapons from national arsenals could only be accomplished in the context of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. He disagreed with the priority that the Soviet text assigned to these two tasks, stating, "We believe that prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons and then doing something about nuclear stockpiles in the context of general and complete disarmament puts the cart before the horse . . . ."

Extended private consultations preceded the resolution that the First Committee on December 4 recommended by a vote of 56 to 0, with 33 abstentions (U.S.). This resolution, adopted in plenary on December 8 by

a vote of 77 to 0, with 29 abstentions (U.S.), expressed the Assembly's conviction that it is essential to examine the question of the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons and asked all states to examine the Soviet Union's draft convention and other proposals that might be made. Finally, the resolution asked that the relevant records of the First Committee be sent to the ENDC.

#### GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT

Speaking in the First Committee on the subject of general and complete disarmament, the U.S. Representative on December 12 recalled a number of U.S. arms control proposals, including:

(1) cutoff of the production of fissionable materials for weapon purposes;

(2) transfer of 60,000 kilograms of weapons-grade U-235 to peaceful uses if the U.S.S.R. would agree to transfer 40,000 kilograms for that same purpose;

(3) development of workable measures dealing with the reduction of the delivery systems for nuclear weapons;

(4) verified freeze on the number and characteristics of strategic offensive and defensive vehicles; and

(5) discussions to limit and reduce both offensive and defensive strategic nuclear forces.

A resolution requesting the ENDC to resume consideration of the question of general and complete disarmament and to report on its progress to the 23d General Assembly was approved in the First Committee on December 18 by a vote of 97 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, and was adopted by the General Assembly on December 19 by a vote of 113 to 0, with 3 abstentions.

The First Committee also considered a report prepared by the Secretary-General pursuant to a 21st General Assembly resolution. This report, published October 23, 1967, was entitled "Report of the Secretary-Gen-

eral on the Effects of the Possible Use of Nuclear Weapons and on the Security and Economic Implications for States of the Acquisition and Further Development of these Weapons." The report was prepared with the assistance of 12 expert consultants and was divided into three parts. The first part emphasized the mass destruction that nuclear war would cause not only to the state attacked but also to the attacker and the whole world by radioactive contamination. The second part attempted to calculate in both monetary and manpower terms the immense cost of nuclear-weapon systems and delivery vehicles. The third part discussed the illusory nature of any addition to national security from building a nuclear force.

The U.S. Representative on December 12 commended the Secretary-General's report for its many conclusions helpful in the consideration of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

A resolution was agreed upon in the First Committee on December 18 by a vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, that commended the Secretary-General for the report, noted its conclusions, and asked for its wide distribution by member states and the U.N. Secretariat. The resolution was adopted on December 19 by the General Assembly in plenary session by a vote of 113 to 0, with 1 abstention.

Malta introduced a draft resolution on general and complete disarmament which would have pointed out the dangers of chemical and bacteriological warfare and the need to examine and possibly revise and update the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of poisonous gas. The resolution would have asked the ENDC to consider the need for revision of the Protocol and would have asked the Secretary-General to prepare a concise report on the nature and probable effects of existing chemical, biological, and radiological weapons. No action was taken on the Maltese proposal, or one put forward by Hungary on the

same question, as both were withdrawn by their sponsors.

#### **FOREIGN MILITARY BASES**

The General Assembly again adopted in 1967 a resolution on the elimination of foreign military bases in the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. After noting that the ENDC had not been able to give sufficient time to the issue, the resolution asked the ENDC to consider the question and report on its progress to the 23d General Assembly. After a brief discussion, the First Committee on December 18 recommended adoption of the resolution, 86 to 6, with 11 abstentions (U.S.). The General Assembly adopted the resolution on December 19 by a vote of 105 to 0, with 13 abstentions (U.S.).

#### **COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN**

The First Committee briefly considered the question of a comprehensive test ban treaty. Because of the time devoted to a treaty on nonproliferation, the ENDC had been unable to consider the subject in detail, and its preliminary report merely alluded to the item. In these circumstances the First Committee on December 18 adopted, by a vote of 92 (U.S.) to 1, with 6 abstentions, a resolution submitted by the eight nonaligned members of the ENDC that was similar to the one adopted by the 21st General Assembly. The resolution urged all states that have not done so to adhere to the nuclear test ban treaty; called upon all states to suspend nuclear-weapon tests in all environments; and requested the ENDC to take up as a matter of urgency the elaboration of a treaty banning underground nuclear-weapon tests and to report to the 23d General Assembly. The resolution was approved by the General Assembly on December 19 by a vote of 103 (U.S.) to 1, with 7 abstentions.

## NONPROLIFERATION TREATY

It was generally appreciated that the negotiation of a nonproliferation treaty was the most important arms control question before the General Assembly. However, as long as the nonproliferation treaty was under active consideration by the ENDC, there was a common understanding that the General Assembly should refrain from any action. Discussion of a treaty was therefore delayed until receipt of the ENDC's interim report on December 7 (see p. 4).

The initial question that the First Committee had to face was what steps to take further to encourage the successful negotiation of a treaty. Since so much progress had been made in the ENDC and there was optimism that the cochairmen were on the verge of agreement, the United States strongly supported referral back to the ENDC and, in order not to lose more time, resumption of the 22d General Assembly to discuss the draft treaty as soon as the ENDC had concluded its work.

## CONFERENCE OF NON-NUCLEAR-WEAPON STATES

The delay in agreement on a nonproliferation treaty also affected the calling of a projected Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States to consider their future security, use of peaceful nuclear devices, and cooperation in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The preparatory committee for this conference, established by the 21st General Assembly, made a full report to the 22d Assembly. The report was accompanied by a number of papers on the security of nonnuclear-weapon states and programs for peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The preparatory committee had also drawn up a draft agenda, and planned to schedule the conference for 6 weeks in March and April 1968. During the First Committee's

consideration of the item, however, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Fisher, pointed out that the subjects to be discussed at the proposed conference were involved in the ENDC's negotiations on the nonproliferation treaty and could therefore be more usefully discussed after it was known how the nonproliferation treaty would in fact treat these subjects.

After private discussions, a two-part resolution was agreed upon. Part A sent the question of a nonproliferation treaty back to the ENDC with a request that the ENDC report to the General Assembly on the treaty by March 15, 1968. It also provided that the Assembly President, after consultation, would call a resumed session of the 22d General Assembly to debate the nonproliferation treaty and other outstanding items ready for debate at that time.

Part B of the resolution authorized convening the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States at Geneva from August 29 to September 28, 1968. The Secretary-General was requested to make appropriate arrangements for convening the conference in accordance with the recommendations of the preparatory committee.

Ambassador Goldberg expressed U.S. support for the conference by stating:

... our assurance is categorical that the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States should take place at the time specified in the resolution.

One of the things that was apparent from our private consultations—to me—is the depth and sincerity of the desire and interest of the nonnuclear powers represented in our consultations, and I am sure generally in this Committee and Assembly, in effective action to prevent nuclear proliferation.

The First Committee on December 18 adopted these two resolutions (A) 94 (U.S.) to 1, with 4 abstentions, and (B) 90 (U.S.) to 0, with 8 abstentions. The plenary in its closing session on December 19 approved these resolutions (A) 112 to 1, with 4 abstentions, and (B) 110 to 0, with 8 abstentions.

# Outer Space

The U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, its Legal Subcommittee, and its Scientific and Technical Subcommittee all met during 1967. During the year the Committee concluded an agreement covering assistance to and return of astronauts and progressed in its negotiation of a convention on liability for damage caused by space objects. The Committee continued its work on the encouragement of international programs and on the exchange of information relating to space activities. Finally, the Committee completed preliminary arrangements for a U.N. conference on the practical applications of space science, which is scheduled for August 14-27, 1968, in Vienna.

## Astronaut Assistance and Return Agreement

The most important accomplishment in the field of outer space in 1967 was the negotiation and unanimous endorsement by the General Assembly of an Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts, and the Return of Objects Launched into Outer Space. The Agreement elaborates on the rescue and return provisions of the Outer Space Treaty and seeks to assure that every possible assistance will be rendered to astronauts in distress.

Negotiations for a rescue treaty started in 1962 in the Legal Subcommittee. In July 1967 an intensive effort was made to reach agreement at the Subcommittee meetings held in Geneva (see p. 12), but it was not until September 1967, at a meeting in New York of the full Outer Space Committee, that the Soviet delegation

accepted the U.S. view that the astronaut agreement should be broad in scope and should deal with three related questions—assistance to astronauts, return of astronauts, and return of space vehicles.

On September 27 the United States began a series of talks with the U.S.S.R. and other members of the 28-nation Outer Space Committee, and preliminary agreement was reached on a draft text in early December. This draft was submitted to the Legal Subcommittee, which met on December 14 and 15 and incorporated a number of new suggestions in the agreement. The Legal Subcommittee thereupon brought the revised text to the urgent consideration of the parent Outer Space Committee, which unanimously approved the treaty text and forwarded it to the General Assembly. On December 19 the General Assembly acted unanimously to commend the agreement, recommend that it be opened for signature as soon as possible, and express the hope that it have the widest possible adherence.

Ambassador Goldberg, addressing the General Assembly on December 19 after its endorsement of the astronaut agreement, described the treaty as representing a just balancing of the interests of all members of the United Nations. "This agreement," he said, "bears witness to the fact that the United Nations can make a real contribution to extending the rule of law to new areas and to insuring the positive and peaceful ordering of man's efforts in science and the building of a better world."

The astronaut agreement, as endorsed in the General Assembly, would require, *inter alia*, that parties to the treaty shall:

(1) immediately notify the launching authority if they learn that an ac-

cident or emergency involving a manned flight has occurred;

(2) take all possible steps to rescue an astronaut in distress—either on a party's territory or on the high seas—and render him all necessary assistance;

(3) obtain the cooperation of the launching authority in search and rescue operations if its assistance would help effect a prompt rescue;

(4) safely and promptly return astronauts who have landed on their territory or on the high seas; and

(5) notify the launching authority of space objects which have come down on their territory or on the high seas and, upon request, take steps to recover and return such objects.

President Johnson, expressing his pleasure at the General Assembly's action, said on December 19 that he hoped the agreement would help to ensure that nations will assist astronauts in the event of accident or emergency. "The agreement," he said, "would carry forward the purpose of this administration to promote international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space."

## Outer Space Treaty

On October 10, 1967, the Outer Space Treaty<sup>1</sup>—the negotiation and endorsement of which had been completed in the General Assembly in 1966—entered into force at simultaneous ceremonies in Washington, London, and Moscow. By the end of 1967 nearly 90 countries had signed the treaty. At the White House ceremony on October 10 President Johnson remarked, "The spirit of international cooperation that has achieved this agreement is a beacon of hope for the

<sup>1</sup> Full title is Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies.

future. It is a credit to all peoples." The President urged nations to combine their resources in the future exploration of space and said:

Let us determine that the great space armadas of the future will go forth on voyages of peace—and go forth in a spirit not of national rivalry but of peaceful cooperation and understanding.

The next decade should increasingly become a partnership—not only between the Soviet Union and America but among all nations under the sun and stars.

The treaty's entry into force on October 10 was preceded by the opening of the treaty for signature in Washington, London, and Moscow on January 27. At the earlier White House ceremony, President Johnson emphasized the arms control provisions of the treaty:

We have never succeeded in freeing our planet from the implements of war. But if we cannot yet achieve this goal here on earth, we can at least keep the virus from spreading.

This treaty means that the moon and our sister planets will serve only the purposes of peace and not of war. It means that orbiting manmade satellites will remain free of nuclear weapons.

The Outer Space Treaty was registered with the Secretary-General of the United Nations by the three Depository Governments on November 30, 1967.

## U.N. Space Conference

The U.N. Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which had been scheduled for Vienna in September 1967, was postponed by the fifth special session of the General Assembly. On May 23, 1967, in a resolution cosponsored by the United States, the General Assembly rescheduled the conference for August 14–27, 1968.

The U.S.S.R. had first requested the postponement on February 6 at a meeting of the Panel of Experts convened to consider preparations for the conference. The reason given for requesting postponement was that insufficient time remained to prepare adequately for the conference, particularly in light of the U.S.S.R.'s 50th Anniversary celebrations in October 1967. The U.S. position at the Panel of Experts meeting was that any decision to postpone the conference should be made by the General Assembly, where the developing countries and nonspace powers for whose benefit the conference was being prepared could make their views known. The question was referred to the Outer Space Committee, which on February 13 agreed to recommend to the General Assembly that the conference be postponed approximately one year.

At the fifth special session, the United States agreed to the new dates for the conference, making it clear that it expected them to be adhered to strictly. In a statement before the plenary on May 23 the U.S. Representative, Dr. Samuel C. Adams, Jr., said that if a date could be held firm and energetic preparations made, the conference could be one of the most successful the United Nations had ever sponsored. The conference, he added, could give concrete effect to article I of the Outer Space Treaty, which provides that the exploration and use of outer space shall be carried out for the benefit and in the interests of all countries.

At the 22d General Assembly, the importance of the outer space conference was emphasized by virtually all the speakers during the First Committee's consideration of outer space matters. The U.S. Representative, Congressman L. H. Fountain, observed that the conference would focus particular attention on the practical benefits of space activity and should be of particular benefit to the developing nations. The First Committee recom-

mended, and the General Assembly on November 3 adopted by acclamation, a resolution calling upon all participating states to devote their utmost efforts to ensuring the success of the conference.

On October 31 the United States submitted 55 abstracts of papers to be read at the conference to the U.N. Secretariat for review by the Panel of Experts. All told, more than 200 abstracts were submitted. The Panel was scheduled to meet January 10, 1968, in order that those whose abstracts had been selected might be informed by January 31. The papers will be read at nine thematic sessions, covering the following topics: communications, meteorology, navigation, other space techniques of practical benefit, biology and medicine, nonspace applications of space technology, education and training, international cooperation, and economic, legal, and social problems.

## Legal Subcommittee

The Legal Subcommittee of the Outer Space Committee held its sixth session in Geneva from June 19 through July 14. The Subcommittee considered three major items:

- (1) liability for damages caused by the launching of objects into outer space;

- (2) assistance to and return of astronauts and space vehicles; and

- (3) questions related to the definition and utilization of outer space.

On the question of liability, the Subcommittee had before it three separate draft conventions, submitted by the United States, Belgium, and Hungary. The U.S. draft sought to establish a sound method of adjusting claims for personal injury and property damage caused by space objects. The United States wished to build on the principle set forth in article VII of the Outer Space Treaty—i.e., that a



state party to the treaty is internationally liable to another state party for damage caused by an object launched into outer space from its territory. Although the Subcommittee was unable to agree on all the provisions of a draft liability convention, it made substantial progress on certain questions. Among these were questions relating to an agreed definition of damage, certain exemptions from liability, the manner of presenting claims, time limits for claim presentation, and the inclusion in the agreement of attempted as well as successful space launchings.

The discussions on an astronaut assistance and return agreement were not productive because of a difference of view on the scope that such an agreement should have. The U.S.S.R. wished to limit the agreement to provisions covering the rescue of astronauts, whereas the United States, Australia, Japan, Canada, and most European countries considered that the agreement must also encompass the return of astronauts and the return of space objects. As noted above (p. 10) the Soviet Union later accepted this view and a draft agreement was agreed upon and endorsed by the General Assembly.

France introduced the item on definition and utilization of outer space. France believed that a definition of an outer space boundary was necessary so that nations could be certain of the domain to which the Outer Space Treaty applies. The United States pointed out that the treaty was not weakened by the absence of an explicit definition of outer space and that no practical problems arose from the lack of such a definition. The United States nevertheless supported France's proposal to seek advice from the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee on whether scientific criteria existed that would make possible a definition of outer space that would remain valid for the long-term future.

The Subcommittee made no recommendation on the question of "utiliza-

tion," by which France appeared to mean the regulation and control of certain space activities. The United States stated a willingness to undertake studies of such specific problems as the possible future crowding of communications satellites in geostationary orbits. On the other hand, the United States opposed a general study of all aspects of space activities if it bore the implication that "regulation" was required in every case.

## Scientific and Technical Subcommittee

The Scientific and Technical Subcommittee held its fifth session at U.N. Headquarters in New York from August 28 to September 6. Subjects were considered under five general headings: (1) Exchange of Information, (2) Encouragement of International Programs, (3) International Sounding Rocket Launching Facilities, (4) Education and Training, and (5) Definition of Outer Space.

Under "Exchange of Information" the Subcommittee considered reports prepared by the Secretariat on national and cooperative international space activities and on the activities and resources of the United Nations and other international bodies in the field of outer space. The United States concurred in the Subcommittee's recommendation that the report on national and international space activities be given as wide distribution as possible and that it include more detailed information on the nature of these activities.

The Subcommittee examined carefully two reports of the WMO during its consideration of "Encouragement of International Programs." The reports outlined the essential features of the World Weather Watch adopted by the Fifth World Meteorological Congress in 1967 (see p. 175). The Subcommittee recommended that

governments should give high priority to the space activities included in the World Weather Watch. The United States pointed out that progress had continued in spreading the benefit of direct access to U.S. weather satellites, and that the amount of Automatic Picture Transmission equipment throughout the world had doubled since last year to a present total of 80 sets. Under the same heading, the Subcommittee commended the ITU for its work in the peaceful uses of outer space, particularly for its technical assistance to the Experimental Satellite Communications Earth Station at Ahmadabad, India, and in planning for orderly use of the radio frequency spectrum.

In considering "International Sounding Rocket Launching Facilities" the Subcommittee recommended that the United Nations continue to sponsor the Thumba Equatorial Rocket Launching Station in India (where the United States and other countries are cooperating in meteorological and ionospheric sounding rocket investigations). The Subcommittee also recommended that a group of scientists visit the Argentine station near Mar del Plata when it is operative in order to advise the Outer Space Committee on the station's eligibility for U.N. sponsorship. The United States made clear its position that the costs of a U.N.-endorsed range should be borne proportionately by the nations using the range for their experiments.

Under the heading "Education and Training," the Subcommittee recommended that the widest possible distribution be given to the report of the U.N. Secretary-General entitled "International Directory of Facilities for Education and Training in Basic Subjects Related to the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space." The United States is a major contributor to this and other publications on the opportunities available for space training and research.

The final topic, "Definition of Outer Space," had been referred to the Subcommittee by the Legal Subcommittee. The U.S. position has been that it is not now feasible to establish a boundary between air and outer space that would be meaningful over the long-term future. The Subcommittee's conclusion was that it is impossible at the present time to identify scientific or technical criteria that would permit a precise and lasting definition of outer space. The Subcommittee also decided that it should continue its consideration of the definition of outer space at future sessions since such a definition, on whatever basis recommended, is likely to have important implications for the operational aspects of space research and exploration.

On September 27 the full Outer Space Committee endorsed the agreed findings of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee and took note with appreciation of the report of the Legal Subcommittee. In a statement before the Outer Space Committee, the Deputy U.S. Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador William B. Buffum, paid tribute to the spirit of compromise that had characterized the proceedings of the Committee which, he said, had much to do with the successful completion of the Outer Space Treaty. Ambassador Buffum also remarked that progress had been made on the subject of liability, although he noted that the more difficult issues still lay ahead.

## General Assembly Action

The General Assembly on November 3 unanimously adopted a resolution, cosponsored by the United States, that endorsed the recommendations and decisions contained in the report of the Outer Space Committee. The resolution, which had been forwarded

to the General Assembly by the First Committee, requested the Outer Space Committee to continue with a sense of urgency its work on the elaboration of a liability agreement. It also requested the Committee to study the technical feasibility of communications by direct broadcasts from satellites and the current and foreseeable

developments in this field, as well as the implications of such developments. On the matter of liability, Ambassador Goldberg told the General Assembly on December 19 that the United States pledged its full and unstinting efforts in preparing a draft liability agreement for submission to the 23d session of the General Assembly.

# Seabed and Ocean Floor

## Maltese Proposal

On August 17, Malta submitted for the agenda of the General Assembly an item entitled "Declaration and Treaty Concerning the Reservation Exclusively for Peaceful Purposes of the Seabed and of the Ocean Floor, Underlying the Seas Beyond the Limit of Present National Jurisdiction, and the Use of Their Resources in the Interests of Mankind." The accompanying explanatory memorandum described the potential benefits to be derived from the use of the ocean floor and proposed that a treaty be drafted which would provide, *inter alia*, that:

(1) the seabed and the ocean floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction are not subject to national appropriation;

(2) the exploration of the seabed shall be undertaken in a manner consistent with the principles and purposes of the U.N. Charter;

(3) the use of the seabed and its economic exploitation shall be undertaken with the aim of safeguarding the interests of mankind;

(4) the net financial benefits derived from the ocean floor's exploitation shall be used primarily to promote the development of the poorer countries; and

(5) the ocean floor shall be re-

served exclusively for peaceful purposes.

The explanatory memorandum also suggested that the proposed treaty envisage establishment of an international agency to assume jurisdiction (as a trustee for all countries) over the ocean floor beyond the limits of present national jurisdiction, to regulate activities on the ocean floor, and to ensure that activities conform to the principles of the proposed treaty.

On the recommendation of its General Committee, the Assembly on September 23 approved inclusion of the item on its agenda. Subsequently, on October 6, the Assembly changed the title of the item to read, "Examination of the Question of the Reservation Exclusively for Peaceful Purposes of the Seabed and the Ocean Floor, and the Sub-soil Thereof, Underlying the High Seas Beyond the Limits of Present National Jurisdiction, and the Uses of Their Resources in the Interests of Mankind," and approved its allocation to the First Committee.

Committee discussion began November 1 when the Maltese Representative, Ambassador Arvid Pardo, introduced the item with a detailed explanation of the reasons for his government's initiative. Noting that the Maltese Islands are situated in the center of the Mediterranean, he emphasized that Malta had

. . . been following closely for some time developments in the field of oceanography and deep sea capability and . . . been impressed by the potential benefits both to our country and to mankind if technological progress takes place in a peaceful atmosphere and within a just legal framework and, on the other hand, by the truly incalculable dangers for mankind as a whole were the seabed and ocean floor beyond present national jurisdiction to be progressively and competitively appropriated, exploited, and used for military purposes by those who possess the required technology.

He added that the Maltese initiative had been an entirely independent one and that the decision to press for action at the current Assembly session reflected the fact that "rapidly developing technology makes possible the exploration, occupation, and exploitation of the world's seabeds and much of its ocean floor." He described a number of the problems and issues that were involved and the international efforts already underway in this field. After putting forward various specific ideas upon which he thought discussion could appropriately focus, the Maltese Representative requested the Chairman of the Committee to appoint a small representative group to consult for the purpose of preparing a draft resolution that would be broadly acceptable.

The Committee devoted 12 meetings to the item and over 50 members presented their views on the issues involved. Among the questions receiving particular attention were those involving the way in which the General Assembly might organize its future efforts to deal with oceanic matters; the future use and disposition of the ocean floor and its resources; and the reservation of the ocean floor exclusively for peaceful uses.

## U.S. Position

On November 8 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, acknowledged the timeliness and im-

portance of the question. He noted that mankind's expanding activities in the oceans required additional efforts for international cooperation in the exploration and use of the deep ocean and its floor and in the development of the general principles that might guide activities of states. He cited, as a basis of the U.S. position on this question, President Johnson's statement of July 13, 1966:

. . . under no circumstances, we believe, must we ever allow the prospects of rich harvest and mineral wealth to create a new form of colonial competition among the maritime nations. We must be careful to avoid a race to grab and to hold the lands under the high seas. We must insure that the deep seas and the ocean bottoms are, and remain, the legacy of all human beings.

It was the U.S. position that the deep ocean floor should not be subjected to competing claims of national sovereignty. Any future legal order for that environment should insure that the deep ocean floor will be open to exploration and use by all states without discrimination.

Ambassador Goldberg recalled the past work of the United Nations and its specialized agencies on questions relating to the ocean and the ocean floor. He cited the importance of the work of the 1958 Geneva conference on the law of the sea and, in particular, the relevance of the item presently before the General Assembly of the Convention on the Continental Shelf.

In light of the continuing advance of marine technology and the complexity of the problems involved, the U.S. Representative urged the Assembly to consider how best it could act to encourage the exploration and use of the ocean for the benefit of all mankind. He suggested that the First Committee draw upon the work and accomplishments of the Outer Space Committee and establish a committee on the oceans which would:

(1) assist the General Assembly in considering all marine questions placed before it and make recommendations for action:

(2) assist the General Assembly in promoting long-term international cooperation in marine science; and

(3) assist the General Assembly in considering questions of law, including such matters as rights of use and exploration, arms control, and problems of pollution.

He proposed that the General Assembly ask such a committee, as part of its initial effort: (1) to make recommendations to stimulate and support international cooperation in the exploration of the ocean floor; (2) to provide the Assembly with its views on the recommendations that the Secretary-General would make in the study of activities in marine science and technology that the 21st General Assembly had requested on December 6, 1966; and (3) to begin immediately to develop general standards and principles for guiding states and their nationals in the exploration and use of the deep ocean floor.

Emphasizing the complexity of the work and the necessity of taking into account existing treaties, the U.S. Representative observed that the proposed committee might concern itself with such questions as the maintenance of international peace and security, including the development of effective arms control measures; the dissemination of scientific knowledge; the promotion of economic development; the conservation of the living resources of the seas; the prevention of pollution; and the avoidance of disturbance of the biological, chemical, and physical balances of the seas. Finally, he pledged the energetic participation of the United States in any studies needed before decisions could be taken on a future comprehensive legal regime for the deep ocean floor.

On November 16 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador I. W. Abel, reviewed the course of the debate and noted wide agreement that the immediate task was to take procedural and organizational steps that would enable the General Assembly to deal in an effective way with the questions

raised. He supported the suggestion that the first task of any committee would be largely the assembling of relevant information. The U.S. Representative pointed out that the problems of pollution, conservation, scientific research, law, and arms control—which were of particular concern to most of the delegations that had spoken—could only be dealt with effectively by a committee whose mandate included the entire marine environment, rather than just its floor.

## Assembly Action

Extensive consultations were held among interested delegations and a generally acceptable resolution was developed. The United States joined with 43 other members in cosponsoring this resolution which was submitted on December 7 and adopted in committee on December 8 by a vote of 93 to 0, with 1 abstention.

In its preambular paragraphs the resolution, *inter alia*, noted that developing technology is making the seabed accessible and exploitable for scientific, economic, and military purposes; recognized the common interest of mankind in the seabed; and recognized that the exploration and use of the seabed should be conducted in accordance with the principles and purposes of the U.N. Charter and in the interest of maintaining international peace and security. It also acknowledged the importance of preserving the seabed from actions and uses that might be detrimental to the common interest of mankind and noted the desire of the General Assembly to foster international cooperation.

The resolution established an *ad hoc* committee of 35 members to study the scope and various aspects of the item. It requested the *ad hoc* committee, in cooperation with the Secretary-General, to prepare in time for the 23d General Assembly a study

to include: (1) a survey of the past and present activities of the United Nations, its specialized agencies, and the IAEA with regard to the seabed and the ocean floor; (2) a survey of existing international agreements concerning these areas; (3) an account of the scientific, technical, economic, legal, and other aspects of the item; and (4) recommendations on practical means to promote international cooperation in the exploration, conservation, and use of the seabed and its resources.

The resolution asked the Secretary-General, *inter alia*, to seek the views of members states on the subject, to assist the *ad hoc* committee, and to submit to the *ad hoc* committee the results of studies under the 21st General Assembly resolution of December 6, 1966, and an ECOSOC resolution

of March 7, 1966, on the same general subject (see p. 130). The countries appointed to the *ad hoc* committee were:

Argentina	Liberia
Australia	Libya
Austria	Malta
Belgium	Norway
Brazil	Pakistan
Bulgaria	Peru
Canada	Poland
Ceylon	Romania
Chile	Senegal
Czechoslovakia	Somalia
Ecuador	Tanzania
El Salvador	Thailand
France	U.S.S.R.
Iceland	U.A.R.
India	United Kingdom
Italy	United States
Japan	Yugoslavia
Kenya	

The General Assembly on December 18 adopted the draft resolution without dissent.

## Peaceful Settlement

### Congo

The security of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and its relations with the bordering Portuguese territory of Angola continued to be matters of concern to the Security Council. In July and again in November the Council considered Congolese complaints that it was the victim of aggression from within and from outside its borders. A representative of the Congo took part without vote in the July meetings; both Congolese and Portuguese representatives participated without vote in the November sessions.

#### JULY MEETING OF COUNCIL

The Congolese Representative on July 6 asked for "an emergency meeting of the Security Council to consider

the question of the aggression committed against the Democratic Republic of the Congo on 5 July 1967." During the debates which took place on July 6, 7, and 10, the Congolese Representative alleged the complicity of "Western imperialists" in the rebellion of foreign mercenaries and Katangan gendarmes, and spoke of an "invasion" of the Congo as part of "the Machiavellian plan hatched by the international conspiracy of some fascist and colonialist circles." Picking up this theme the Communist representatives (Soviet Union and Bulgaria) sought to place the blame for the Congo's difficulties entirely on the United States and its NATO allies. In reply, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador William Buffum, referred to the traditional U.S. moral and material support for the Congo, which he said had helped it to maintain its in-

dependence and to defend its national integrity.

At the conclusion of the July 10 meeting the Council unanimously adopted a resolution presented by Ethiopia, India, Mali, and Nigeria which, without identifying any country by name, condemned "any State which persists in permitting or tolerating the recruitment of mercenaries, and the provision of facilities to them, with the objective of overthrowing the Governments of States Members of the United Nations." The resolution also called upon "Governments to ensure that their territory and other territories under their control, as well as their nationals, are not used for the planning of subversion, and the recruitment, training and transit of mercenaries designed to overthrow the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo."

In commenting on the resolution, several representatives expressed observations about its exact wording but said they had supported it in the interest of unanimity. The U.S. Representative said that the resolution did not coincide with U.S. preferences in all respects, but that the United States would vote for the resolution because of its support for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Congo and for the efforts of the Government of the Congo to restore order throughout the country.

#### NOVEMBER MEETING OF COUNCIL

Later in July and August, the Congo, in letters to the Security Council President, accused Portugal of allowing Angola to be used by groups planning aggression against the Congo. Portugal denied the accusation, saying "no bases exist in Angola directed against the Congo."

On November 3 the Congo formally requested that the Security Council meet again to consider a new complaint that on November 1 "an armed band of mercenaries invaded the territory of the Democratic Republic of

the Congo," and charged there was "proof of Portugal's collusion with the mercenaries for the purpose of overthrowing the established order in the Congo."

The Council met on November 8, 10, 14, and 15 to consider the matter. The Congolese Representative outlined in detail the reasons that the Congo had concluded Portugal was involved, while the Portuguese Representative steadfastly maintained that there was no substance to the accusations. He insisted that the charges could not be proved on the basis of the Congolese presentation and reiterated a Portuguese suggestion made in the course of a similar Security Council meeting in 1966 that an investigation take place in Angola to determine the true facts provided the Government of the Congo also authorized a prior investigation regarding military bases within its territory for use against Angola.

Statements by other delegations closely paralleled those made during the July sessions, with the exception that this time most of the delegations expressed, as the U.S. Representative did, "a strong presumption" that Portugal had violated previous resolutions of the Council regarding interference in the affairs of the Congo. Several representatives noted that the mercenaries who had invaded the Congolese province of Katanga could only have come from Angola.

In the November 15 meeting the President of the Council announced that following informal consultations a consensus had been reached on the text of a draft resolution, but that one member of the council reserved the right to make observations. He then read the resolution, which, *inter alia*, condemned "the failure of Portugal . . . to prevent the mercenaries from using the territory of Angola under its administration as a base of operations for armed attacks against the Democratic Republic of the Congo" and called upon Portugal "to put an end immediately . . . to the provision to

the mercenaries of any assistance whatsoever." The President, in the absence of any objection, stated that the Council had adopted the draft resolution.

Following this announcement, the Brazilian Representative said that he had not asked for a vote "because that was not the wish of the membership of the Council"; but that if a vote had been taken "Brazil would have abstained" because it could not support the above-cited portions of the resolution.

The Portuguese Representative rejected the resolution altogether.

## Cyprus

Cyprus continued throughout 1967 to engage the attention of the United Nations and, as the year ended, became the focus of major concern to the Security Council and to the Secretary-General. In November the outbreak of fighting between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots on the island gave rise to the worst crisis since 1964. In that year the Security Council had created a U.N. Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) to perform peacekeeping functions and to act as a buffer between the two communities. The mandate of the Force, extended periodically since its creation, was again renewed for 6 months in June 1967 on the recommendation of the Secretary-General and with the agreement of the Government of Cyprus. In December 1967 the Security Council extended UNFICYP's mandate for 3 more months, through March 26, 1968, in the hope that during this period the interested parties would find new means of resolving the Cyprus question.

### **APPOINTMENT OF NEW U.N. SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE**

Secretary-General U Thant on January 26 announced the appointment of Bibiano F. Osorio-Tafall of Mexico

as his Special Representative in Cyprus, to succeed Carlos A. Bernardes, who resigned on January 5 to return to active duty in Brazil's diplomatic service. Mr. Osorio-Tafall had previously held responsible positions in international organizations, first with the FAO and since 1956 with the United Nations.

### **RENEWAL OF UNFICYP MANDATE: JUNE**

The Security Council met on June 19 to consider a recommendation from the Secretary-General for an extension of UNFICYP, whose mandate was to expire on June 26.

In his report to the Council, the Secretary-General characterized the period under review as one of uneasy quiet, disturbed by frequent breaches of the cease-fire, terrorist acts, and by the construction of new and provocative fortified positions. He found that in spite of the relative calm that prevailed, there was an ever-present possibility of large-scale fighting, and that without the interposition of UNFICYP forces in areas of direct confrontation, "the renewal of armed strife would appear to be practically inevitable." He reported that UNFICYP personnel had been denied freedom of movement by the National Guard or by Turkish Cypriot fighters on a number of occasions, sometimes by the threat of use of force.

The Secretary-General appealed to the parties concerned to make every effort to break the deadlock, pointing out that the United Nations could do little without the cooperation of those most directly concerned. He noted that the dialogue between the governments of Greece and Turkey on Greco-Turkish relations and the question of Cyprus had apparently been in abeyance since December 1966, and that he had no official information on when or if the talks would be resumed. In calling for new efforts at the political level, he pointed out that the need for the continued presence of UNFICYP had to be balanced



against the danger that excessive confidence in its indefinite continuation might reduce a sense of urgency in seeking solutions for the underlying differences that originally caused the violence. He asked all interested parties to bear in mind "the inexorable fact that UNFICYP cannot remain in Cyprus indefinitely, if only for financial reasons." For the moment, however, he saw no alternative but to recommend a further extension of the Force.

After brief discussion the Council unanimously adopted a resolution introduced by Argentina and cosponsored by Brazil, Ethiopia, India, Japan, Mali, and Nigeria. The resolution reaffirmed previous Security Council resolutions; urged the parties concerned to act with the utmost restraint and to cooperate to achieve the objectives of the Security Council; and extended UNFICYP for a further period of 6 months ending December 26, 1967, "in the expectation that sufficient progress towards a solution by then will make possible a withdrawal or substantial reduction of the Force."

In a statement after the vote, Ambassador Richard F. Pedersen said the United States believed an extension of UNFICYP for 6 more months was the only realistic and prudent course. He pointed out, however, that lack of progress on fundamental issues required those concerned to seek new areas of accommodation even more urgently than before. He shared the Secretary-General's concern regarding restrictions imposed on UNFICYP in the discharge of its normal duties and termed unacceptable harassment of U.N. personnel or members of UNFICYP. Referring to the Council's discussion at the end of 1966 of the importation of arms into Cyprus, Ambassador Pedersen expressed gratification at the Secretary-General's report that the arms imported from Czechoslovakia the previous December remained in storage, and welcomed assurances by the Government

of Cyprus that these arms would not be distributed for the time being.

The U.S. Representative pledged up to \$4 million toward the cost of maintaining UNFICYP for the next 6 months, the exact sum to depend upon the amount ultimately pledged by others, and expressed the hope that the 6-month extension would be regarded as an opportunity for progress, not a reason for inaction.

In their statements to the Council, the representatives of both Greece and Turkey indicated that their governments intended to resume the dialogue to which the Secretary-General had referred, in the hope that these talks would bring about full understanding on the issues between the parties.

Subsequently the Greek and Turkish Prime Ministers met in mid-September. Although no apparent progress was made toward reaching agreement, their Foreign Ministers were instructed to continue the dialogue.

#### NOVEMBER-DECEMBER CRISIS

A crisis of major proportions developed as a result of the outbreak of violence on November 15 in the villages of Ayios Theodoros and Kophinou. In a report on the incident issued November 16, the Secretary-General was critical in particular of the Cypriot National Guard, terming the magnitude of the Guard's operation in Ayios Theodoros and the speed with which it was carried out as clearly indicative that "the National Guard had planned in advance to carry out this operation in the event of any show of opposition by the Turkish Cypriots." He requested all parties to do their utmost to assist in restoring peace and to cooperate fully with UNFICYP "in ensuring that there will be no repetition of such senseless and deplorable incidents." However, tensions had reached such a peak and the danger of war between Greece and Turkey appeared so imminent that the Secretary-General on

November 22 issued the first of several appeals to the governments of Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus to "avoid any action that could precipitate a new outbreak of hostilities." He also said he was sending a personal representative to the three capitals to convey his grave concern directly.

This representative, U.N. Under Secretary José Rolz-Bennett, left New York November 22 after the three governments had indicated they would welcome him. On November 24 the Secretary-General again appealed to the three parties "to avoid all acts of force or the threats of recourse to force," and asked them "to undertake to work out a program for the phased reduction [of all non-Cypriot armed forces on Cyprus other than those of the United Nations] looking toward ultimate withdrawal." He offered his assistance "to the fullest extent" to this end and assured the parties "that UNFICYP would be available for all appropriate assistance in carrying out such a program and in continuing to help maintain quiet." Finally, he urged all governments concerned to "respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus" and to "refrain from any military intervention in the affairs of that Republic."

The Security Council met at the request of Cyprus in the late hours of November 24 and in the early morning of November 25 reached a consensus. The Council called upon "the parties concerned to show the utmost moderation and restraint and to refrain from any act which might aggravate the situation" and requested all concerned to "cooperate in keeping the peace and arriving at a permanent settlement in accordance with the resolution of the Security Council of 4 March 1964."

On November 24, with tensions remaining high, President Johnson sent his own special representative, Cyrus Vance, to visit Ankara, Athens, and Nicosia, where he undertook cooperative diplomatic efforts with Mr. Rolz-

Bennett and Mr. Manlio Brosio, Secretary General of NATO, who also visited the area. These joint efforts assisted the parties in reaching a degree of agreement on certain specific actions to lessen tensions in the area, and on December 3 U.N. Secretary-General U Thant issued his third appeal to the parties which embodied the areas of agreement.

The Secretary-General asked the governments of Greece and Turkey in particular "to take immediate measures to end any threat to the security of either one by the other as well as of Cyprus and, as a first step in response to my second appeal dated 24 November, to carry out an expeditious withdrawal of those of their forces in excess of their respective contingents [authorized under the terms of the 1959 London-Zurich accords] in Cyprus." Any further role that it might be considered desirable for UNFICYP to undertake, he said, could involve, subject to necessary Security Council action, enlarging the Force's mandate to give it broader functions, "including supervision of disarmament and the devising of practical arrangements to safeguard internal security, embracing the safety of all the people of Cyprus." He said his good offices in connection with such matters would be available to the parties on request. In the days that followed, the governments of Greece, Turkey, and Cyprus all signified their general acceptance of the terms of the appeal.

#### **RENEWAL OF UNFICYP'S MANDATE: DECEMBER**

The Security Council met on December 20 and 22 to consider the question of extending UNFICYP's mandate, due to expire December 26. In his report on the operations in Cyprus for the period June 13-December 8, the Secretary-General concluded that the Force's mandate should be extended for a period of either 3 or 6 months as "one obvious step for the maintenance of peace in Cyprus." He noted that normaliza-

tion measures introduced by the Government of Cyprus in September had considerably reduced tension, but that the calm spell which followed had been shattered by the incidents of mid-November. He urged all concerned to seize the opportunity emerging from the recent crisis to display the statesmanship and goodwill essential to resolving this complex and longstanding question and again stated that his good offices were available to the parties and the Council "to this end."

During the course of the debate the views of the governments of Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey were heard, as were those of Mr. Osman Orek, representing the Turkish Cypriot community. After lengthy private negotiations in which the United States took a very active part, a resolution commanding the support of all Security Council members was presented by the Council President and adopted unanimously on December 22. By its terms, UNFICYP's mandate was extended for a period of 3 months ending March 26, 1968, and the parties were invited "promptly to avail themselves of the good offices proffered by the Secretary-General." The resolution also called upon the parties to refrain from any act that might aggravate the situation and urged them to undertake "a new determined effort to achieve the objectives of the Security Council" with a view to arriving at a settlement in accordance with the Council's resolution of March 4, 1964.

In his statement after the resolution's adoption, Ambassador Goldberg said the United States would "continue to support the work of UNFICYP both politically and financially." He urged those concerned to approach the Secretary-General's good offices with determination to reach an understanding and expressed hope also that early attention would be given to the methods by which a permanent solution of the Cyprus problem could best be approached.

The governments of Greece, Tur-

key, and Cyprus all indicated their intention to cooperate in carrying out the terms of the resolution.

## Korea

As in previous years the 22d General Assembly's provisional agenda included an item titled "The Korean Question: Report of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea" (UNCURK).<sup>1</sup>

The Commission's report, dated August 26, 1967, detailed UNCURK's efforts to carry out its mandate, and also described the functioning of representative government in the Republic of Korea, as well as economic and commercial progress there. Pursuant to a resolution adopted in 1966 at the 21st General Assembly, UNCURK had sought to intensify its efforts aimed at the reunification of Korea. However, these efforts were hindered by the continuing refusal of the North Korean authorities to cooperate with the Commission or to recognize the authority and competence of the United Nations in Korea. The report noted that the Republic of Korea, for its part, had repeatedly stated its acceptance of the Commission's authority and had allowed the members of the Commission to operate without restrictions in the territory under its control.

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

On August 17, before the UNCURK report was published, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and eight other Communist countries (later joined by Romania and Cam-

<sup>1</sup> UNCURK was established by the Assembly on Oct. 7, 1950, to represent the United Nations in bringing about a unified, independent, and democratic Korea. It consists of representatives of Australia, Chile, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey, and has its headquarters in Seoul.

bodia) requested the inclusion on the agenda of a supplementary item, "Withdrawal of the United States and all other foreign forces occupying South Korea under the flag of the United Nations." The Assembly's General Committee combined this item and the UNCURK item under a single agenda heading, "The Korean Question," and recommended its allocation to the Assembly's First (Political) Committee for consideration—actions subsequently approved by the Assembly in plenary session.

On October 4 Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), and Yemen requested the inclusion of another agenda item, "Dissolution of the UNCURK." The Cambodian request was considered by the General Committee under rule 15 of the Assembly's rules of procedure, which states that items can be added to the Assembly's agenda after the session begins only if they are of "an important and urgent character." In a General Committee meeting on October 5 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Buffum, expressed strong reservations about the need and motivation for the item, pointing out that this subject could hardly be considered a "new" item of an "urgent nature," but he did not formally move that the request be rejected. He did, however, suggest that the General Committee decide to add the item as a third sub-item under "The Korean Question." The Committee's adoption of this suggestion was subsequently approved by the General Assembly.

As in previous years the First Committee's discussion of the Korean Question covered two broad issues: invitation to Korean representatives to participate without vote in the Committee's deliberations and reaffirmation of the U.N. objectives for the reunification of Korea.

#### **The Seating Resolution**

The First Committee took up the question of invitations on October 30. Only one draft "seating" resolution

was before it. Sponsored by 13 states (Australia, Bolivia, Central African Republic, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Japan, Malagasy Republic, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, Togo, and the United States), the draft resolution provided for the Committee to (1) invite a representative of the Republic of Korea to take part in the debates and (2) reaffirm its willingness to invite a representative of North Korea if the latter first unequivocally accepted the competence and authority of the United Nations, within the terms of the Charter, to take action on the Korean question.

However, 10 members (Burundi, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Romania, Syria, and Tanzania) presented a series of four amendments to the U.S.-sponsored draft resolution that attempted to alter completely the purpose of the 13-power draft by deleting all references to the competence and authority of the United Nations on Korea and by having the Committee invite "simultaneously and without condition" representatives of both the Republic of Korea and North Korea. These amendments were supported by the U.S.S.R.

On October 30, the U.S. Representative, Congressman William S. Broomfield, pointed out that five cosponsors of the 13-power draft resolution were nations of the Asian-Pacific area and were obviously more directly concerned with the Korean question than the group proposing the amendments. He noted that the core of the U.S.-supported proposal was simply that representatives of the Republic of Korea and North Korea should be invited on equal terms: that they both accept unequivocally the competence and authority of the United Nations to take action on the Korean question. The U.S. Representative said that if the General Assembly continued to believe that the United Nations has both the competence and authority to deal with the Korean question it would be prejudi-

cial to encourage in any way those who say that Korea is not and cannot be the legitimate concern of the United Nations. Further, it was both proper and necessary to ask that those who join the Assembly's discussion of the Korean question should accept without reservation the organization's competence and authority to take action on the question. For these reasons he urged adoption of the 13-power draft resolution as the only formula which takes into account the legitimate interests of the Republic of Korea, North Korea, and the United Nations itself.

On October 31 the proposals concerning invitations were put to a vote. At the sponsors' request, each amendment was voted on separately prior to the vote on the draft resolution itself. All of the amendments were defeated with votes in the range of 36-37 in favor, 48-50 opposed (U.S.), and 24-26 abstentions. The Committee then adopted the unamended 13-power resolution by a vote of 58 to 28, with 25 abstentions.

Voting for the resolution were:

Argentina	Ivory Coast
Australia	Japan
Austria	Laos
Belgium	Lesotho
Bolivia	Liberia
Botswana	Luxembourg
Brazil	Malagasy
Canada	Republic
Central African	Malawi
Republic	Malaysia
Chile	Malta
China	Mexico
Colombia	Netherlands
Costa Rica	New Zealand
Cyprus	Nicaragua
Dahomey	Niger
Denmark	Norway
Dominican	Panama
Republic	Paraguay
El Salvador	Philippines
France	Rwanda
Gabon	South Africa
Greece	Spain
Guyana	Thailand
Haiti	Togo
Honduras	Turkey
Iceland	United Kingdom
Iran	United States
Ireland	Uruguay
Israel	Venezuela
Italy	

Those voting against it were:

Albania	Mauritania
Algeria	Mongolia
Bulgaria	Nigeria
Burundi	Poland
Byelorussian	Romania
S.S.R.	Sudan
Cambodia	Syria
Congo	Tanzania
(Brazzaville)	Uganda
Cuba	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	U.S.S.R.
Guinea	U.A.R.
Hungary	Yemen
Iraq	Yugoslavia
Mali	Zambia

Abstaining were:

Afghanistan	Jordan
Barbados	Kenya
Burma	Lebanon
Cameroon	Libya
Ceylon	Nepal
Chad	Pakistan
Ethiopia	Senegal
Finland	Sierra Leone
Ghana	Somalia
Guatemala	Sweden
India	Tunisia
Indonesia	Upper Volta
Jamaica	

#### UNCURK Resolution

The Committee then began its debate on the substantive aspects of the Korean question. In accordance with the Committee's decision, the representative of the Republic of Korea, Foreign Minister Kyu Ha Choi, participated without right of vote.

Three resolutions were submitted, corresponding to the three subheadings of the agenda item. Fifteen members (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Central African Republic, Costa Rica, Japan, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, Togo, United Kingdom, and the United States) cosponsored a draft resolution similar to those adopted in previous years. It reaffirmed that the U.N. objectives in Korea are to bring about (1) a unified, independent, and democratic Korea under a representative form of government, and (2) the restoration of peace and security in the area, both objectives to be achieved through "genuinely free elec-

tions." It requested UNCURK to intensify its efforts to achieve these objectives and noted that the greater part of the U.N. forces had already been withdrawn and that the remaining forces would be withdrawn whenever requested by the Republic of Korea or whenever conditions for a lasting settlement had been fulfilled.

Seven members (Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, and Romania—later joined by Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Ukrainian S.S.R., and the U.S.S.R.) submitted a draft resolution calling for the immediate dissolution of UNCURK. The same seven original sponsors also proposed a series of amendments to the U.S.-supported draft, which, like the proposed amendments to the seating resolution, would have so altered the draft as to reverse substantially its sponsors' intentions and would have withdrawn the Korean question from any future U.N. consideration.

The Soviet Union and eventually 13 other members introduced a draft resolution calling for the withdrawal of U.S. and all other foreign forces "occupying" South Korea under the U.N. flag. It also proposed that there be no further discussion of the Korean question in the United Nations. Albania in turn proposed an amendment to this draft resolution which would have replaced one of the preambular paragraphs with a statement that the United Nations had no right to consider the Korean situation.

Debate on these drafts began on November 1. The Soviet Representative blamed U.S. forces in Korea for heightening the tension along the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea. He also linked the U.S. presence in Korea to that in Vietnam. On November 3 the U.S.S.R. indicated its firm support of the draft resolution calling for the dissolution of UNCURK. The U.S.S.R. objected to what it considered a lack of objectivity in the UNCURK report and

berated the United Nations for allegedly allowing the United States to dominate what was supposed to be a U.N. Commission.

Speaking on November 3 the U.S. Representative, Congressman William S. Broomfield, declared that the United Nations had basically two choices: either renew its pledge to help achieve the reunification of Korea, in peace and through the freely expressed will of the Korean people; or turn its back on the problem, abdicating its responsibilities under the Charter and its obligations to the Korean people.

The U.S. Representative said that the draft resolutions supported by the U.S.S.R. failed to take into account previous U.N. pledges and actions. Nothing could alter the historical role the United Nations had played in attempting to reunify and pacify Korea. He recalled the Republic of Korea's specific request for U.N. troops and the Security Council resolution that created the Unified Command.

Referring to a recent report of the U.N. Command in Korea describing the drastic increase in North Korean armistice violations during 1967 (see below, p. 27), the U.S. Representative noted the threat such activities presented to the maintenance of peace in the area. He remarked:

Nothing that has happened on the ground in Korea during the past year, nothing that is happening now, and nothing in the bellicose and threatening statements consistently being heard from North Korean authorities gives any reason to believe that international peace and security in that area will in any way be served by the withdrawal of the United Nations presence and machinery which has maintained the armistice there for the past 14 years.

He concluded by appealing to the Assembly again to make a choice worthy of its past and "approve the course of continuing United Nations responsibility and reject the concept that Korea is an area of the world which is 'off limits' to this Organization."

## Assembly Action

On November 7 the Committee voted separately on the preambular paragraphs of the Soviet proposal for a withdrawal of U.S. and other forces and on the Albanian amendment to it. All were defeated by large majorities. The operative paragraphs of the Soviet resolution were then rejected 24 to 59 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions. The draft resolution calling for the dissolution of UNCURK was similarly defeated 24 to 60 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions. The amendments to the U.S. sponsored draft were rejected 22 to 61 (U.S.), with 28 abstentions.

The unamended draft resolution was then adopted 67 to 23, with 23 abstentions.

Voting in favor were the same states that had voted for the 13-power resolution on the seating of Korean representatives, plus Barbados, Chad, Ethiopia, The Gambia, Guatemala, Jamaica, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, but minus Cyprus.

Opposed were Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Sudan, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., and Yugoslavia.

Abstaining were Afghanistan, Burma, Cameroon, Ceylon, Cyprus, Finland, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Tunisia, Uganda, Tanzania, and Upper Volta.

On November 16 the Assembly in plenary adopted the 15-power resolution recommended by the First Committee 68 (U.S.) to 23, with 26 abstentions.

## U.N. COMMAND REPORT TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Owing to a serious increase in the number of North Korean violations of the Korean Armistice Agreement, the

United States, in its capacity as the Unified Command, transmitted a special report of the U.N. Command in Korea to the Security Council on November 2. The report noted that 543 incidents stemming from North Korean violations of the Military Armistice Agreement of July 27, 1953, had taken place during 1967 up to October 18, as compared to only 50 such incidents during the whole of 1966. These incidents resulted from

... the infiltration into the Republic of Korea from North Korea of armed agent teams for the purpose of setting ambushes, laying mines, and performing raids near the Demilitarized Zone and engaging in other subversive activities in the interior of the Republic of Korea. These deliberate actions by North Korean armed personnel, apart from causing serious casualties, constitute clear evidence of North Korea's continued unwillingness to keep faith with the Armistice provisions and raise serious doubts about its attitude toward the promotion of peace and stability in the area.

The U.N. Command concluded that it stood ready to preserve peace and security in Korea and that it would continue to seek the cooperation of North Korean representatives on the Military Armistice Commission (MAC) to reduce the number and scope of the Armistice violations.

## MILITARY ARMISTICE COMMISSION

The 1953 Armistice Agreement remained in effect during 1967 and the MAC met 21 times, bringing the total number of such meetings to 258. Meetings were held as usual in Panmunjom. The U.N. Command attempted to use the Commission for its stated purpose, i.e., to supervise implementation and investigate violations of the Agreement, but the North Korean authorities showed themselves unwilling to cooperate in enabling the Commission to carry out its assigned mission. The meetings continued to be used by the Communist side to raise extraneous political and propaganda issues. North Korean representatives accused the U.N. Command of numerous violations of the Armistice Agreement but

declined virtually all suggestions by the U.N. Command for impartial, on-the-spot investigations. On the other hand, representatives of the U.N. Command complained of North Korean violations of the Armistice Agreement and listed many instances of attacks by North Korean armed personnel in the southern portions of the Demilitarized Zone and in the Republic of Korea itself. As noted above, these violations were so frequent and so serious that they were the subject of a special report to the United Nations.

## Middle East

The United Nations was the scene of important U.S. efforts, first to prevent the June 1967 Arab-Israel war, then to stop the fighting and, finally, to find a basis for a more permanent peace in the region. The war was in fact stopped within a matter of days and subsequently a U.N. mechanism was found to assist the countries concerned in their search for a more permanent peace.

### MOUNTING TENSION

Israel, Jordan, and Syria continued to complain to the Security Council about border incidents in early 1967 but did not request Council consideration. Jordan and Israel were able to discuss border incidents in the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission, which had been established under the 1949 General Armistice Agreement (GAA) between the two countries. However, the comparable body for the Israel-Syria border, the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission (ISMAC), had rarely met since 1951 because of a dispute between Israel and Syria over its jurisdiction. It was this border situation that became most serious in the first 4½ months of 1967.

On January 15, after a report by the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) of a large military

buildup along the Israel-Syria armistice line, the Secretary-General publicly appealed to both countries to restrain their armed forces and to meet once again in ISMAC. Both Syria and Israel agreed to convene in an emergency session. The agenda included only the question of cultivation rights in the demilitarized zone between Israel and Syria, disagreement over which accounted for many of the border incidents between Israel and Syria. UNTSO Chief of Staff General Odd Bull chaired the three meetings of the emergency session, but by early February, despite his best efforts, the session ended without substantially altering the situation. U.N. efforts during February, March, and April were primarily aimed at reconvening the emergency session.

During the same period border skirmishes continued. On April 7 a particularly intense exchange of fire on the ground, as a result of Israeli cultivation in an area Syria considered disputed, led to a dogfight in which several Syrian aircraft were downed.

On May 11 Israel sent the Security Council a detailed list of 14 terrorist incidents near the Syrian border which it said had taken place during the preceding month "at the instigation and with the operational planning and participation of the Syrian authorities." Syria replied May 15, denying any responsibility for restraining Palestinian refugees from trying "to attain their right to self-determination granted to them in the Charter of the United Nations." The Syrian Representative charged that the "so-called guerrilla activity" was being invoked as a pretext for aggression and called attention to "bellicose statements" by Israel's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister. He cited, in particular, a report from Tel Aviv in the May 13 *New York Times* that "some Israeli leaders have decided that the use of force against Syria may be the only way to curtail increasing terrorism" and that a blow against Syria



might be "of considerable strength but of short duration."

On May 11 the Secretary-General noted, in response to a question at a press conference, that terrorist incidents in Israel had increased in the past few days and that the individuals responsible appeared to have more specialized training than had been the case in the past. He said:

That type of activity is insidious, is contrary to the letter and spirit of the Armistice Agreements and menaces the peace of the area. All Governments concerned have an obligation under the General Armistice Agreements, as well as under the Charter of the United Nations and in the interest of peace, to take every measure within their means to put an end to such activities.

He later commented on May 15 that his reply could not be interpreted as condoning the resort to force by any party.

Ambassador Goldberg issued a statement May 15 making clear that the United States shared the Secretary-General's concern about the situation and pledging our strong diplomatic support for his efforts for peace.

#### **UNEF WITHDRAWAL**

It was in this situation that the U.A.R. military authorities demanded on May 16, suddenly and without advance warning, that the 10-year-old U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF) pull back from its frontier posts in Sinai. Simultaneously they proceeded to bring their own armed forces up to the line, in direct confrontation with those of Israel along the Sinai frontier. According to President Nasser this step was taken in the light of reports from Syrian and Soviet sources that Israeli brigades were concentrating for a major attack on Syria—reports which subsequently proved false.

The General Assembly had created UNEF in 1956 to supervise the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Egypt and to serve as a buffer force

between the two countries. In May 1967 UNEF consisted of about 3,400 officers and men from Brazil, Canada, Denmark, India, Norway, Sweden, and Yugoslavia. UNEF troops were concentrated in the Gaza Strip, where they maintained constant visual observation of the border during daylight hours and conducted frequent mobile patrols at night. The long international frontier from Gaza down to the head of the Gulf of Aqaba was covered by air observation, a few observation posts, and occasional mobile patrols. A small UNEF contingent was located at Sharm el-Sheikh, at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba, off the Strait of Tiran.

The U.A.R. request was initially in the form of a message to the Commander of UNEF advising him that U.A.R. troops were concentrated in Sinai and asking him, "for the sake of complete security of all U.N. troops which install observation posts along our borders," to withdraw these troops immediately. The UNEF Commander immediately reported the U.A.R. letter to U.N. Headquarters in New York. The Secretary-General informed the U.A.R. Permanent Representative to the United Nations on May 16 that while the exact intent of the U.A.R. letter needed clarification, "if it was the intention of the Government of the United Arab Republic to withdraw the consent which it gave in 1956 for the stationing of UNEF on the territory of the United Arab Republic and in Gaza it was, of course, entitled to do so." Such a request would have to come directly to the Secretary-General who on receipt of such a request "would order the withdrawal of all UNEF troops from Gaza and Sinai, simultaneously informing the General Assembly of what he was doing and why."

At noon on May 18 the U.A.R. formally announced to the Secretary-General its decision to terminate the presence of UNEF on its territory and requested that the necessary steps be taken for the withdrawal of the Force

"as soon as possible." The Secretary-General replied that the request would be complied with and that he was "proceeding to issue instructions for the necessary arrangements to be put in train without delay for the orderly withdrawal of the Force." He noted that he had "serious misgivings" about the U.A.R. decision because the Force had been an important factor in maintaining relative quiet during the previous 10 years and its withdrawal might have "grave implications for peace."

#### **Secretary-General's Report of May 18**

On May 18 the Secretary-General sent a lengthy report to the General Assembly informing it of the steps involved in the withdrawal decision. He noted that he had consulted informally with the UNEF troop contributors on May 17 and formally with the UNEF Advisory Committee (the troop-contributing countries plus Pakistan, Ceylon, and Colombia) on May 18 prior to replying to the official U.A.R. communication. The UNEF had entered the U.A.R. only with U.A.R. consent, he said, and when consent was withdrawn, "it was incumbent on the Secretary-General to give orders for the withdrawal of the Force." In practical fact, UNEF could not remain or function without the continuing consent and cooperation of the U.A.R. There seemed to be "no alternative course of action which could be taken by the Secretary-General without putting in question the sovereign authority of the Government of the United Arab Republic within its own territory." He added he had also been influenced by his "deep concern to avoid any action which would either compromise or endanger the contingents which make up the Force."

#### **U.S. Reaction**

On May 18, before the decision to withdraw UNEF was announced, Ambassador Goldberg discussed the situ-

ation with the Secretary-General and, as subsequently reported to the press, assured him that the United States believed the United Nations had "a continuing and critical role to play in keeping the peace in the area and that all member states should cooperate to that end." Ambassador Goldberg subsequently said that the United States regretted the decision to withdraw UNEF. Later, in a statement on May 23, President Johnson expressed U.S. dismay at the "hurried withdrawal" of UNEF "without action by either the General Assembly or the Security Council of the United Nations."

#### **Secretary-General's Report of May 19**

On May 19 the Secretary-General submitted a report to the Security Council which described the situation in the Middle East as "extremely menacing." He specifically pointed to the Strait of Tiran and the Gaza Strip as most sensitive areas of tension. The situation was aggravated, he noted, by (1) the terrorist and sabotage activities in Israel, (2) the "intemperate and bellicose utterances" of officials throughout the area, and (3) the reports of troop movements and concentrations, particularly on the Israeli side of the Syrian border. Contrary to these reports, the Secretary-General said, U.N. military observers had confirmed the absence of troop concentrations and significant troop movements on either side of the Syria-Israel line. He affirmed that tension had mounted since the sudden and unexpected decision of Egypt to terminate UNEF's presence on its territory.

He recalled the continued existence of the Egypt-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission (EIMAC), which had been created under the 1949 Armistice Agreement between Israel and Egypt but which had operated without Israel after the latter unilaterally denounced the Armistice Agreement in 1956. Noting that a resumed EIMAC could provide a "limited form

of United Nations presence in the area," the Secretary-General appealed to Israel to reconsider its denunciation and resume its participation in EIMAC.

#### **Secretary-General To Visit Cairo**

At noon May 20 the United Nations announced that the Secretary-General would go to Cairo for talks with U.A.R. leaders on the Middle East situation and matters pertaining to withdrawal of UNEF. Later that day Ambassador Goldberg said that the United States welcomed the Secretary-General's decision to visit Cairo. Prior to the Secretary-General's departure on May 22 Ambassador Goldberg met with him to present U.S. views on the situation.

#### **CLOSURE OF THE GULF OF AQABA**

On May 22, while U Thant was airborne on the way to Cairo, U.A.R. President Nasser declared a blockade of Israel's shipping through the Strait of Tiran—a point which UNEF had guarded for a decade and which the Secretary-General had identified in his May 19 report as "particularly sensitive."

#### **U.S. Position**

On the evening of May 23, President Johnson told the Nation that the announcement of the closure of the Gulf of Aqaba to Israel had brought

. . . a new and very grave dimension to the crisis. The United States considers the Gulf to be an international waterway and feels that a blockade of Israeli shipping is illegal and potentially disastrous to the cause of peace. The right of free, innocent passage of the international waterway is a vital interest of the entire international community.

The President also stressed the U.S. commitment "to the support of the political independence and territorial integrity of all the nations of that area." The United States had consistently sought to have good relations

with all the states of the Middle East even though, regrettably, this had not always been possible. The President concluded by calling on all concerned "to observe in a spirit of restraint" their responsibilities under the U.N. Charter and the General Armistice Agreements. The United States, he said, was pursuing the matter with great vigor at the United Nations and hoped that the Security Council could and would act effectively.

#### **Security Council Meets**

The Security Council met on May 24 at the request of Canada and Denmark who submitted a draft resolution expressing full support "for the efforts of the Secretary-General to pacify the situation," and requesting all U.N. members "to refrain from any steps which might worsen the situation." The United States supported both the request for the meeting and the draft resolution. Ambassador Goldberg, after noting that the U.S. position had been publicly stated the previous evening by President Johnson, said that the Security Council should express full support for the Secretary-General's efforts by calling on all states "to avoid any action which might exacerbate the already tense situation which prevailed when the Secretary-General departed on his mission." The Soviet Union, however, charged the United States with trying to dramatize the situation, and along with some other Council members opposed any action pending return of the Secretary-General from Cairo. The Council adjourned May 24 without voting on the Canadian-Danish draft or taking any other action.

#### **Secretary-General's Report of May 26**

Secretary-General U Thant returned to New York on May 25, and late on May 26 issued a report on his trip. He reported no easing of the U.A.R. position on the Strait of Tiran and said

that, in view of the conflicting stands taken by the U.A.R. and Israel, this issue represented "a very serious potential threat to peace." The Secretary-General suggested that "a peaceful outcome of the present crisis will depend upon a breathing spell which will allow tension to subside from its present explosive level." He urged "all the parties concerned to exercise special restraint to forego belligerence and to avoid all other actions which could increase tension, to allow the Council to deal with the underlying causes of the present crisis and to seek solutions."

The Secretary-General also listed other possible courses of action that might help reduce tensions including the resumption of Israeli participation in the EIMAC and the resumption by both parties of participation in the ISMAC. He assured the Council that he would continue to make all possible efforts to contribute to a solution to the crisis.

#### **SECURITY COUNCIL MEETINGS, MAY 29-JUNE 3**

The Security Council met on May 29, 30, 31, and June 3. By the end of these four meetings 14 members of the Council had urged restraint on the parties concerned, although they differed over what constituted restraint.

#### **U.S. Position**

Ambassador Goldberg opened the debate on May 29 by affirming that the United States wished to avoid "wasteful recriminations over the response of the United Nations to recent events." The United Nations had, through UNEF and other operations, played a crucial role in maintaining peace in the Middle East; the job now was "to find new ways by which the United Nations can reassert itself for peace."

He strongly supported the appeal by the Secretary-General for a "breathing spell," and explained that

the United States believed the request to "forego belligerence" contained in the Secretary-General's appeal meant "foregoing any blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba during the breathing spell . . . and permitting free and innocent passage of all nations and all flags through the Strait of Tiran to continue as it has during the last 10 years."

Ambassador Goldberg welcomed the statement of the Israeli Prime Minister the previous day that Israel had decided to rely on "the continuation of political action in the world arena" to stimulate effective measures to ensure free passage through the Strait of Tiran. This statement was in the spirit of the Secretary-General's appeal and followed strenuous diplomatic efforts by U.N. members, including the United States, in support of the Secretary-General's appeal, Ambassador Goldberg said. The Israeli statement would be all the more effective if matched in the same spirit by other parties, he added.

Ambassador Goldberg urged the Security Council to seek practical means, through whatever U.N. machinery was readily available, to minimize the danger of a military clash along the borders between Israel and Egypt and Israel and Syria. With regard to the problem of terrorism and the cultivation disputes in the Demilitarized Zone between Israel and Syria, he pointed out that the Security Council had on many occasions called upon the parties to observe the General Armistice Agreements, which prohibited all hostile acts from the territory of any of the parties, and to return to the normal operations of the armistice machinery. He said that effective steps needed to be taken "to reaffirm the General Armistice Agreements and revitalize the armistice machinery."

#### **U.A.R. Position**

The U.A.R. Representative contended that the closure of the Strait of Tiran was permissible under inter-

national law because the navigable channel through the Strait was in U.A.R. territorial waters; because Israel was not a legitimate littoral state on the Gulf of Aqaba, having occupied the port of Eilat by force after the signing of the Egypt-Israel General Armistice Agreement; because a state of war existed between Israel and the U.A.R. which permitted the U.A.R. to exercise belligerent rights; and because the Israeli aggression in 1956, which had resulted in the arrangement under which the Strait had been opened to Israeli ships, had not given Israel any legal right to free passage through the Strait, which had been closed to Israeli ships before 1956. He added that the U.A.R., having acted within the limits of its "sovereign rights," did not contemplate any offensive action. The U.A.R. would, however, "not hesitate a moment, in the exercise of our inherent right of self-defense, to repel any aggression committed against us."

#### **Israeli Position**

The Israeli Representative replied that the whole Egyptian case for moving its forces against Israel was based on the unfounded charge of alleged Israeli troop concentrations. With regard to the Gulf of Aqaba, he asserted, "Every interference with the freedom of navigation in these waters is offensive action and an act of aggression against Israel, the infringement of the sovereign rights of all nations to the unimpeded use of this international waterway and a gross violation of international law." Many countries, particularly those with important maritime interests, had recognized the international character of the Strait of Tiran in statements before the General Assembly in 1957. Since then the waterway had been used uninterruptedly by hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping. The eviction of UNEF from its position guarding the Strait "was not only an act of defiance of the will of the

United Nations and a violation of Egypt's pledged word, but was the signal for the revival of belligerence after 10 years of tranquility in the Gulf of Aqaba." The U.A.R. practice of belligerence was the crux of the matter. In 1951 the Security Council had ruled that the practice of belligerence and therefore blockades could not coexist with the Armistice regime. The Israeli Representative then quoted U.A.R. President Nasser as having said on May 26, "The battle will be a full-scale one and our basic aim will be to destroy Israel."

#### **Positions of Security Council Members**

The United Kingdom joined the United States in calling for restraint and supporting freedom of passage through the Strait of Tiran. India and Mali, while also favoring restraint, supported the U.A.R. position on the Gulf of Aqaba and said any arrangement would have to be within the framework of U.A.R. sovereignty. Canada, Denmark, Argentina, Brazil, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Japan, France, and China all asked for restraint but did not take a stand on passage through the Strait. Bulgaria urged restraint but, while not explicitly supporting the U.A.R. position on the Strait of Tiran, made clear its view that restraint meant not attempting to change the status quo, i.e., not challenging U.A.R. control of the Strait.

The Soviet Union expressed support for "the just struggle of the Arab States for the strengthening of their security and the protection of their inalienable and sovereign rights," but not specifically for the U.A.R. position on the Gulf of Aqaba. The U.S.S.R. avoided a direct reply when Ambassador Goldberg asked if the Soviet Union would support the Secretary-General's appeal. Instead, the U.S.S.R. criticized the United States for standing behind the "military circles in Tel Aviv," asked the United States to withdraw the Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean if it really wanted to reduce

tensions in the area, and contrasted U.S. anxiety for peace in the Middle East with U.S. actions in the Far East.

#### **Draft Resolutions**

On May 31 the United States introduced a draft resolution which, after quoting from the Secretary-General's report of May 26:

(1) called on all parties concerned to comply with the Secretary-General's appeal;

(2) encouraged the immediate pursuit of international diplomacy in the interests of pacifying the situation and seeking reasonable, peaceful, and just solutions; and

(3) decided to keep the issue under "urgent and continuous review" so that the Council could determine the further steps it might take in the exercise of its responsibilities for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Also on May 31 the U.A.R. submitted a draft resolution which stressed reactivation of EIMAC. India announced its intention to press the U.A.R. resolution to a vote at an appropriate time.

Neither of these draft resolutions had been voted on when hostilities began June 5.

#### **SECURITY COUNCIL MEETINGS, JUNE 5-14**

Word of the outbreak of hostilities was received in New York very early on the morning of June 5.

#### **First Cease-Fire Resolution**

When the Security Council met at 9:30 a.m. on Monday, June 5, it had one task of overriding urgency: to bring about a cessation of the hostilities which had begun several hours earlier. The Secretary-General reported to the Council that the withdrawing UNEF forces in the Gaza Strip could not determine which side

had begun the firing. He also reported that the fighting had rapidly spread to Jerusalem and other border areas between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The Israeli and U.A.R. Representatives then spoke briefly, each charging the other with beginning the hostilities, and the Council adjourned "for urgent consultations."

The Council President quickly circulated a proposed draft resolution which, in its key operative paragraph, called for an immediate cease-fire. The Arab States and the Soviet Union opposed immediate adoption of such a resolution, and India proposed a formula involving a cease-fire and a return to the situation that existed on June 4, including the blockade of the Strait of Tiran. Extensive consultations among the Council members followed.

By the afternoon of June 6, the Council members had agreed on a simple cease-fire resolution—one quite similar, in fact, to the draft the Council President had suggested the day before. The Council met at 6:30 p.m. and unanimously adopted the agreed resolution, which was introduced by the President and which called upon "the Governments concerned as a first step to take forthwith all measures for an immediate cease-fire and for cessation of all military activities in the area."

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, praised the resolution as calling for precisely the action that his delegation had been urging since the outbreak of hostilities. He regretted the failure of U.N. and other efforts to prevent war, and, after it began, the time lost in calling for a simple cease-fire. In stressing the importance of the resolution, he observed:

We believe that a cease-fire represents the urgent first step in restoring peace to the Near East. Once this is accomplished . . . my delegation believes that the Council should then turn its immediate attention to the other steps that will be required to achieve a more lasting peace.

Israel's Representative said his country welcomed the Council's call for a cease-fire, but insisted that its implementation depended upon cooperation of the governments responsible for the situation. The representatives of the Arab countries, however, did not immediately welcome or accept the cease-fire resolution and those that spoke at the June 6 meeting criticized its failure to call for withdrawal of forces to the positions held immediately prior to the fighting.

#### **Charge of U.S. Involvement**

During the meeting of June 6, representatives of some Arab nations charged that U.S. and U.K. aircraft were assisting those of Israel in the fighting. Ambassador Goldberg denied this and offered full U.S. cooperation in an immediate impartial investigation of the charges, including visits by U.N. personnel to American aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean, to prove conclusively that no U.S. airplanes had engaged in the hostilities. The U.K. Representative made a similar denial of charges of British intervention.

#### **Second Cease-Fire Resolution**

Despite the Council's cease-fire call, fighting continued. On June 7 Jordan complained to the Security Council that although it had accepted the cease-fire and issued implementing orders to its forces, Israel continued to fight. The U.A.R. and Syria remained silent on the question of accepting the cease-fire. The Council met at 1 p.m. on June 7 at the request of the Soviet Representative, who introduced a draft resolution demanding "as a first step" a cease-fire and cessation of all military activities in the area at 2000 hours GMT (4 p.m. New York time) June 7. After brief consultations, the Council unanimously adopted this resolution. At 2045 GMT Israel informed the Secretary-General that the cease-fire with Jordan had gone into effect as scheduled.

#### **U.S. and Soviet Draft Resolutions**

The Security Council met on June 8 at the request of the United States. The U.A.R. and Syria still had not accepted the cease-fire. Ambassador Goldberg expressed the U.S. conviction that the increasing gravity of the situation required the Council to take further steps toward building a stable and just peace in the region and presented a draft resolution that:

(1) called for a scrupulous compliance with the cease-fire by Jordan and Israel;

(2) insisted that other belligerents immediately comply with the cease-fire; and

(3) called for prompt discussions among the parties concerned, with such third-party or U.N. assistance as they might wish, looking toward the establishment of a stable and durable peace in the Middle East.

The Soviet Union submitted a draft which would have had the Security Council "vigorously condemn" Israel's aggressive activities, and demand that Israel withdraw from all territories it had occupied since June 4.

During the Council meeting, the Secretary-General announced receipt of a letter from the U.A.R. Representative informing him that the U.A.R. accepted the cease-fire.

#### **Final Cease-Fire Resolutions and the Israel-Syria Cease-Fire**

On June 9 the Security Council was again called into session, this time at Syria's urgent request. The Syrian request was prompted, the Council President announced, by the continuation of warfare between Israel and Syria—though the latter had now finally also accepted the cease-fire called for in the two previous Security Council resolutions. The Council unanimously adopted a third resolution demanding that hostilities cease and requesting the Secretary-General to make immediate contact with the Governments of Israel and

Syria to arrange compliance with the cease-fire. The latter point, which had not been contained in the earlier cease-fire resolutions, provided the basis for dispatching U.N. military observers to the Israel-Syria front.

Ambassador Goldberg lauded the Council for deciding that U.N. officials should act in the matter. Other representatives also spoke, some simply repeating charges they had already made. Both the Soviet Union and Bulgaria reiterated that the Council should demand complete withdrawal of Israeli armed forces. The debate finally stalled on the questions of whether Syria and Israel had issued orders for the cessation of hostilities and whether the fighting had actually ended. The Council members agreed to adjourn and reconvene 2 hours later, by which time the facts in the matter might be clear.

When the Council met again in the evening of June 9 the Israelis and the Arabs again condemned each other for the continued hostilities. The only action taken at this Council meeting was to request the belligerents to extend all possible cooperation to the U.N. military observers in the area since it appeared that only through U.N. personnel could reliable, non-partisan information be obtained.

On June 10 the Council met three times, still laboring under the handicap of inadequate information. Military observers in the war zone had forwarded some fragmentary reports, but they provided no conclusive evidence of the responsibility for the continued fighting between Syria and Israel following their acceptance of the cease-fire.

The first meeting on June 10 was hurriedly convened at 4:30 a.m. at the request of Syria, which claimed to be suffering continued full-scale attacks from Israel. A second meeting followed at 8:10 a.m. At these sessions the U.S. Representative questioned the advisability of the Council's acting without full information. Some other Council members continued to press

charges that were not substantiated by U.N. observation.

By the opening of the third meeting on June 10, UNTSO Chief of Staff General Odd Bull had reported to the Secretary-General that both Syria and Israel had assured him that they accepted a cease-fire at 1630 hours GMT and would fully implement it. Ambassador Goldberg introduced a draft resolution which would have condemned any and all violations of the cease-fire, requested the Secretary-General to investigate fully all charges, and called upon the governments concerned to instruct their armed forces to stop all military activities in accordance with the earlier Security Council resolutions. The Council debate continued late into the night, with the Soviet Representative complaining that the United States was not willing to condemn Israeli violations of the cease-fire. Ambassador Goldberg responded by insisting that the very purpose of his draft resolution was to condemn such violations, no matter which party was found guilty of them. The Council finally adjourned without any action.

Syria called for still another meeting of the Security Council on Sunday, June 11, this time to protest an alleged tank invasion into areas not occupied by Israel prior to the cease-fire at 1630 hours GMT June 10. Again, the difficulty of obtaining impartial information prevented meaningful discussion in the Council, and the Secretary-General was unable to confirm the presence of the tank column in unoccupied territory. It was the morning of the next day before the Council agreed on the text of a resolution. Several of the operative paragraphs of the June 10 U.S. draft resolution were repeated virtually verbatim in this resolution which, *inter alia*, condemned any and all violations of the cease-fire, requested the Secretary-General to continue his investigations, and called for cooperation with UNTSO. The resolution was



introduced by the President of the Council and adopted unanimously.

#### **Consideration of U.S. and Soviet Draft Resolutions**

Although many questions remained unanswered and new problems had been created, it appeared at this point that the Security Council's primary effort, to stop the fighting, had finally succeeded. While the United States had devoted all its efforts toward obtaining this result, some Council members had not been satisfied merely to end the fighting without in some way condemning the "aggressors." Continuing the line of argument it had adhered to during the week of June 5, the Soviet Union called for a meeting of the Security Council on June 13 to consider the Soviet draft resolution introduced 4 days earlier.

The Soviet Representative spoke at length after circulating a revised draft which contained two operative paragraphs. The first vigorously condemned Israel's aggressive activities and continued occupation of Arab territories. The second demanded that Israel immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its troops behind the 1949 Armistice lines. The Soviet Representative criticized the Council for taking nothing more than short-term measures in the crisis and demanded rapid action on his draft. If the Council did not accept it the Soviet Representative indicated that he would seek other means through which the United Nations could do its duty under its Charter.

Ambassador Goldberg said that the United States also hoped the Council would not terminate its endeavors with the cease-fire, but he criticized the Soviet draft resolution as a "prescription for renewed hostilities." If implemented, it would return all armed forces to the same positions they had occupied prior to the outbreak of the fighting, a situation that had just led to open conflict.

The United States, he stated, had drafted an alternative to the Soviet proposal, one that would represent new steps toward real peace. The most important provision of the U.S. draft resolution, which was first introduced in slightly different form on June 8, would have the Security Council call for discussions promptly after the cease-fire

... among the parties concerned, using such third party or United Nations assistance as they may wish, looking toward the establishment of viable arrangements encompassing the withdrawal and disengagement of armed personnel, the renunciation of force regardless of its nature, the maintenance of vital international rights and the establishment of a stable and durable peace in the Middle East.

On June 14 the Council voted on the Soviet draft in two parts. The first operative paragraph, which would have condemned Israel's "aggressive activities," received only four affirmative votes (Bulgaria, India, Mali, and the U.S.S.R.), with the other 11 Council members (Argentina, Brazil, Canada, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Japan, Nigeria, U.K., U.S.) abstaining. The second operative paragraph, calling for troop withdrawal, received six favorable votes—the same four as in the first vote plus Ethiopia and Nigeria. The other nine members of the Council abstained. Having failed to receive the nine affirmative votes required for adoption, both paragraphs were defeated and no action was taken on the resolution as a whole.

At the conclusion of the voting, the Soviet Delegate asserted that the Security Council had failed adequately to discharge its responsibilities in the Middle East crisis, and he repeated the Soviet intention to search for other means by which the United Nations could do its duty. He further stated that he would vote against (and thus veto) the U.S. draft resolution if it were put to a vote.

## Humanitarian Resolution

The Council met again the afternoon of June 14 to consider a draft resolution submitted by Argentina, Brazil, and Ethiopia concerning the welfare of prisoners of war and civilians affected by the hostilities. The main operative paragraphs of this resolution (1) called upon "the Government of Israel to ensure the safety, welfare and security of the inhabitants of the areas where military operations have taken place and to facilitate the return of those inhabitants who have fled the areas since the outbreak of hostilities" and (2) recommended "scrupulous respect of the humanitarian principles governing the treatment of prisoners of war and the protection of civilian persons in time of war, contained in the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949."

The U.S. Representative had earlier noted the Council's responsibility to take all necessary action to protect the victims of the war. He urged all authorities, and particularly the Government of Israel, to assist civilians to return to their homes in safety.

The Security Council adopted this humanitarian resolution unanimously at its afternoon session on June 14 and suspended its consideration of the Middle East crisis while the emergency special session of the General Assembly took up the issue.

### EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

On June 13 the Secretary-General circulated a letter from Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko criticizing the Security Council for not having fulfilled its responsibilities in the Middle East crisis and calling for an emergency special session of the General Assembly (ESSGA) to "adopt a decision designed to bring about the liquidation of the consequences of aggression and the immediate withdrawal of Israel forces behind the armistice lines." The Secretary-General asked each U.N. mem-

ber whether it concurred in the Soviet proposal.

Ambassador Goldberg replied by noting that under the Uniting for Peace Resolution an ESSGA could be called only "if the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the Permanent Members, fails to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression." The U.S. draft resolution of June 10 and other proposals were still before the Security Council, and members of the Council were still consulting on possible action. The United States did not believe, therefore, that a situation such as that envisaged in the Uniting for Peace Resolution had arisen, and accordingly could not concur in the request for the ESSGA.

A majority of the U.N. members did concur with the Soviet call, however, and the fifth ESSGA convened on June 17.

### U.S. Position

President Johnson spelled out U.S. policy in the Middle East on the morning of June 19 in a speech to the Department of State Foreign Policy Conference for Educators. The President listed "five great principles of peace in the region." He said:

Certainly, troops must be withdrawn: but there must also be recognized rights of national life, progress in solving the refugee problem, freedom of innocent maritime passage, limitation of the arms race, and respect for political independence and territorial integrity.

As a first step in controlling the "wasteful and destructive arms race" he proposed that the United Nations call on all its members to report all shipments of arms to the area. The President said that the parties to the conflict would have to be the parties to the peace, but that any method should be tried, including one involving the United Nations, to help the

parties. In a climate of peace, he said, the United States would do its full share to help with a solution for the refugee problem, to support regional cooperation, and to see that "the peaceful promise of nuclear energy is applied to the critical problem of desalting water and helping to make the deserts bloom."

#### **Soviet Position**

Soviet Premier Kosygin opened the substantive debate in the ESSGA on June 19 by presenting a draft resolution which would have had the General Assembly (1) vigorously condemn Israel's aggressive activities and the continuing occupation by Israel of the territory of the U.A.R., Syria, and Jordan, which constitutes an act of recognized aggression; (2) demand that Israel withdraw its forces; (3) demand that Israel make good all damage inflicted on the three Arab countries; and (4) appeal to the Security Council to eliminate the consequences of Israeli aggression.

#### **U.S. Draft Resolution**

Ambassador Goldberg responded to the Soviet proposal the following day. He pointed out that the new proposal hardly differed from the one the Security Council had already rejected. It would simply recreate the situation that had prevailed before the recent hostilities.

Once again, in short, nothing would be done to resolve the deep-lying grievances on both sides that have fed the fires of war in the Middle East for 20 years. And once again, there would be no bar to an arms race in the area.

Ambassador Goldberg introduced a draft resolution which would have had the Assembly decide that "a stable and durable peace in the Middle East" should be achieved "through negotiated arrangements with appropriate third party assistance" and based on certain principles, which were President Johnson's five principles of June 19.

#### **Nonaligned and Latin American Draft Resolutions**

A general debate on the Middle East situation ensued and by the end of June 69 delegations had expressed their views. Interest focused on a non-aligned draft resolution and on a Latin American draft resolution.

The nonaligned draft, which was sponsored by Yugoslavia and 16 African and Asian nations, (1) called for a withdrawal of Israeli troops behind the armistice lines; (2) requested the Secretary-General to secure compliance with and ensure observance of the 1949 Armistice Agreements; (3) requested the Secretary-General to designate a personal representative to assist in securing compliance and to be in contact with the parties; (4) called on all states to assist the Secretary-General in implementation of the resolution; (5) requested the Secretary-General to report on compliance, and (6) requested the Security Council to consider "all aspects of the situation in the Middle East" and seek peaceful solutions for "all problems—legal, political and humanitarian," guided by the principles of the U.N. Charter.

On the other hand, the draft sponsored by 20 Latin American nations linked Israeli military withdrawal with an urgent request for the parties involved to end the state of belligerency and have recourse "to the procedures for peaceful settlement indicated in the Charter of the United Nations." It also would have reaffirmed the invalidity of the acquisition of territories by force and would have requested the Security Council to work with the parties to carry out the withdrawal request, to guarantee freedom of transit on international waterways in the region, to achieve a full solution to the refugee problem, and to guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of the states in the area. Its final paragraph reaffirmed the desirability of an international regime for the city of Jerusalem.

## U.S. Position

Ambassador Goldberg announced July 3 that the United States would vote against the nonaligned draft because basically it only called for Israel to withdraw; on the other crucial problems, it merely asked the Security Council to consider "all aspects of the situation," an extremely vague request. The nonaligned proposal made no reference to what Ambassador Goldberg called "the elemental right of national existence," which lay at the very bottom of the trouble in the Middle East. The United States would support instead the Latin American draft, which made the necessary link between Israeli withdrawal and an end to Arab belligerency—the United Nations could not expect one side to relinquish the claims of war unless the other side reciprocated. Ambassador Goldberg also noted that the Latin American draft, unlike the nonaligned draft, contained explicit references to the refugee problem, freedom of transit of international waterways, Jerusalem, and security arrangements for guaranteeing the territorial integrity and political independence of the states of the region.

Ambassador Goldberg regretted that neither the Latin American nor the nonaligned draft referred to the need to end the arms race in the Middle East. He emphasized that the United States remained interested in exploring a system of registration and limitation of arms shipments into the area.

## The Assembly Votes

The ESSGA voted on the draft resolutions on July 4. Neither the non-aligned nor the Latin American draft received the two-thirds majority required for adoption. The vote on the nonaligned draft was 53 to 46, with 20 abstentions. Those in favor were:

Afghanistan	Burma
Algeria	Burundi
Bulgaria	Byelorussian S.S.R.

Cambodia	Mali
Cameroon	Mauritania
Ceylon	Mongolia
Congo	Morocco
(Brazzaville)	Nigeria
Congo	Pakistan
(Kinshasa)	Poland
Cuba	Romania
Cyprus	Saudi Arabia
Czechoslovakia	Senegal
France	Somalia
Gabon	Spain
Greece	Sudan
Guinea	Syria
Hungary	Tanzania
India	Tunisia
Indonesia	Turkey
Iran	Uganda
Iraq	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Japan	U.S.S.R.
Jordan	U.A.R.
Kuwait	Yemen
Lebanon	Yugoslavia
Libya	Zambia
Malaysia	

## Those opposed were:

Argentina	Israel
Australia	Italy
Austria	Jamaica
Barbados	Lesotho
Belgium	Liberia
Bolivia	Luxembourg
Botswana	Malagasy Republic
Brazil	Malawi
Canada	Mexico
Chile	Netherlands
Colombia	New Zealand
Costa Rica	Nicaragua
Denmark	Norway
Dominican Republic	Panama
Ecuador	Paraguay
El Salvador	Peru
Gambia	Philippines
Ghana	Togo
Guatemala	Trinidad and Tobago
Guyana	United Kingdom
Honduras	United States
Iceland	Uruguay
Ireland	Venezuela

## Those abstaining were:

Central African Republic	Nepal
Chad	Niger
China	Portugal
Dahomey	Rwanda
Ethiopia	Sierra Leone
Finland	Singapore
Ivory Coast	South Africa
Kenya	Sweden
Laos	Thailand
Malta	Upper Volta

The vote on the Latin American draft was 57 to 43, with 20 abstentions. Those in favor were:

Argentina	Iceland
Australia	Ireland
Austria	Italy
Barbados	Ivory Coast
Belgium	Jamaica
Bolivia	Japan
Botswana	Lesotho
Brazil	Liberia
Cameroon	Luxembourg
Canada	Malagasy Republic
Central African Republic	Malawi
Chad	Mexico
Chile	Netherlands
China	New Zealand
Colombia	Nicaragua
Congo	Norway
(Kinshasa)	Panama
Costa Rica	Paraguay
Dahomey	Peru
Denmark	Philippines
Dominican Republic	Sierra Leone
Ecuador	Thailand
El Salvador	Togo
Ethiopia	Trinidad and Tobago
Gambia	United Kingdom
Ghana	United States
Guatemala	Upper Volta
Guyana	Uruguay
Honduras	Venezuela

Those opposed were:

Afghanistan	Malaysia
Albania	Mali
Algeria	Mauritania
Bulgaria	Mongolia
Burundi	Morocco
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Pakistan
Ceylon	Poland
Congo	Romania
(Brazzaville)	Saudi Arabia
Cuba	Senegal
Cyprus	Somalia
Czechoslovakia	Sudan
Finland	Syria
Guinea	Tunisia
Hungary	Uganda
India	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Indonesia	U.S.S.R.
Iraq	U.A.R.
Jordan	Tanzania
Kuwait	Yemen
Lebanon	Yugoslavia
Libya	Zambia

Those abstaining were:

Burma	Israel
Cambodia	Kenya
France	Laos
Gabon	Malta
Greece	Nepal
Iran	Niger

Nigeria  
Portugal  
Rwanda  
Singapore

South Africa  
Spain  
Sweden  
Turkey

Also defeated were a Cuban amendment to the nonaligned draft, which would have added a paragraph condemning both the Israeli "aggression" and the United States as "principal instigator"; an Albanian amendment to the nonaligned draft which would have added a paragraph strongly condemning Israel; and the Soviet draft resolution, which was voted on paragraph by paragraph. None of these proposals obtained even a simple majority. The U.S. draft resolution was not put to a vote.

#### Humanitarian Resolution

The ESSGA, unsuccessful in its efforts to help bring permanent peace to the Middle East, did act on the problems of the civilians affected by the hostilities. It adopted on July 4, by a vote of 116 to 0 with 2 abstentions (Cuba, Syria), a "humanitarian" resolution sponsored by Sweden and 25 other nations. This resolution welcomed the June 14 Security Council resolution on the welfare of civilians affected by the hostilities; noted with gratification the work of UNICEF, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the League of Red Cross Societies, and other voluntary organizations; endorsed efforts by UNRWA to provide assistance "as far as practicable, on an emergency basis and as a temporary measure," to the "new" refugees; and appealed to all governments to make special contributions to UNRWA as well as to the other intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations concerned. It also asked the Secretary-General to report on refugee relief needs and on the implementation of the resolution.

The Secretary-General appointed Nils-Göran Gussing of Sweden as his Special Representative to obtain on-

the-spot information required for the report.

In his July 3 statement Ambassador Goldberg said that the United States strongly supported the Swedish draft resolution and stressed that "all civilians in the area affected should be assured of their safety, welfare, and security in the same locations in which they resided before hostilities began." The United States had in fact already made a special relief contribution. In a letter of June 29 Ambassador Goldberg had called the Secretary-General's attention to President Johnson's June 27 statement announcing the establishment of a U.S. reserve of \$5 million for emergency relief needs in the period immediately ahead. Of this total \$2 million had already been contributed to UNRWA.

#### Jerusalem Resolutions

On June 27 the Israeli Parliament approved three bills authorizing extension of Israel's laws, jurisdiction, and public administration to the Old City of Jerusalem and other areas of the former mandate of Palestine which had been controlled by Jordan since the General Armistice Agreement of 1949. On June 28 the Government of Israel took administrative action under the new legislation to extend its municipal services and controls over the entire city of Jerusalem.

These Israeli actions triggered the introduction on July 1 of a draft resolution on Jerusalem sponsored by Pakistan, later joined by Guinea, Iran, Mali, Niger, and Turkey. The Assembly adopted this proposal July 4 by a vote of 99 to 0, with 20 abstentions (Australia, Barbados, Bolivia, Central African Republic, Colombia, Congo (Kinshasa), Dahomey, Gabon, Iceland, Italy, Jamaica, Kenya, Liberia, Malawi, Malta, Portugal, Rwanda, South Africa, U.S., and Uruguay). Israel did not vote.

The resolution:

(1) considered the Israeli measures invalid.

(2) called on Israel to rescind them and to refrain from all measures that would alter the status of Jerusalem, and

(3) requested the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council within a week on the Jerusalem situation and the implementation of the resolution.

The Assembly, which had adjourned after the July 4 voting, reconvened on July 12 to consider the Jerusalem question again. Israel had responded to the July 4 resolution by stressing that Jordan had attacked Israeli Jerusalem on June 5 and that Israel's "unification" of the city had brought peace to Jerusalem and freedom of access to the holy places. Israel had also said that the term "annexation" used by supporters of the July 4 resolution was out of place.

When the Assembly reconvened, all of the sponsors of the first Jerusalem resolution except Niger, plus two additional sponsors—Afghanistan and Somalia—introduced a second draft. It deplored Israel's lack of compliance with the first resolution, reiterated the call for Israel to rescind its measures, and again asked the Secretary-General to report. The vote on this resolution was 99 to 0, with 18 abstentions (Australia, Barbados, Bolivia, Central African Republic, Colombia, Congo (Kinshasa), Iceland, Jamaica, Kenya, Liberia, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Malta, Portugal, Rwanda, South Africa, U.S., and Uruguay). Israel again did not vote.

The Secretary-General, in accordance with the request in the July 14 resolution, appointed Ernesto A. Thalmann of Switzerland as his Special Representative for the purpose of obtaining information on the situation in Jerusalem. Mr. Thalmann reported on September 12, *inter alia*, that Israeli authorities in Jerusalem had stated unequivocally that the process of integration of the Old City into

Israel was irreversible and not negotiable. U.N. members mentioned this report in subsequent General Assembly and Security Council debates, but there was no further treatment of Jerusalem as a separate issue during 1967.

#### **U.S. Position on the Jerusalem Resolutions**

The White House announced after learning of the June 27 action by the Israeli Parliament that President Johnson assumed that any action on the status of the city would be taken only after appropriate consultations with religious leaders and others deeply concerned. After learning of the June 28 Israeli action, the Department of State issued the following statement:

The hasty administrative action taken today cannot be regarded as determining the future of the holy places or the status of Jerusalem in relation to them.

The United States has never recognized such unilateral actions by any of the states in the area as governing the international status of Jerusalem.

On July 3 Ambassador Goldberg said, "The safeguarding of the holy places, and freedom of access to them for all, should be internationally guaranteed; and the status of Jerusalem in relation to them should be decided not unilaterally but in consultation with all concerned." He stressed once again that the United States did not recognize the administrative measures taken by Israel as representing the final decision on the status of the city.

The United States abstained in the Assembly's vote on the two Jerusalem resolutions because, as Ambassador Goldberg explained on July 14, (1) they appeared to accept the view that the Israeli administrative measures constituted "annexation," and (2) the United States did not believe that the problem of Jerusalem could realistically be dealt with apart from other related aspects of the crisis.

#### **U.S.-U.S.S.R. Proposed Language**

In mid-July the Soviet Union joined with the United States in a final effort to find an acceptable resolution to conclude the ESSGA and provide the guidelines for a peaceful settlement. The language developed during these private discussions, which was never formally proposed as a draft resolution, provided that the withdrawal of Israeli troops would be linked with the acknowledgment by every member of the United Nations in the area that each enjoyed the right to maintain an independent national state of its own and to live in peace and security, and with a renunciation of all claims and acts inconsistent therewith—meaning particularly all claims or acts flowing from an asserted state of belligerency. It made specific reference to the need for solving the refugee problem and for guaranteeing freedom of transit through international waterways. This U.S.-U.S.S.R. language was not acceptable to all the parties that had fought against Israel, however, and the Soviet Union was unwilling to proceed with it.

#### **ESSGA Adjourns**

The ESSGA recessed temporarily on July 21 and transmitted its records to the Security Council "to facilitate the resumption by the Council, as a matter of urgency, of its consideration of the tense situation in the Middle East." The ESSGA reconvened briefly on September 18 to refer the Middle East question to the 22d regular session of the General Assembly "as a matter of high priority," after which the President of the Assembly declared the emergency session closed.

#### **SUEZ CANAL INCIDENTS AND U.N. OBSERVERS**

Incidents between Israeli and U.A.R. forces opposing each other across the Suez Canal were considered by the Security Council in July and

October. U.N. military observers were stationed along the Canal as a result of the July incidents, and the number of observers there was increased after the October incidents.

The Security Council met on July 8 at the request of both the U.A.R. and Israel, who charged each other with the violations of the cease-fire. The Secretary-General told the Council that he could not report on the fighting along the Canal because the June cease-fire resolutions had provided for U.N. observation only along the Israel-Syria cease-fire line. He had, however, asked both Israel and the U.A.R. what their reaction would be to a proposal to place observers along the Canal and was awaiting their answers. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, welcomed the Secretary-General's proposal.

On July 9 the Council approved a consensus which, after emphasizing the need for all parties to observe scrupulously the cease-fire resolutions, asked the Secretary-General to proceed, as he had suggested, to request the UNTSO Chief of Staff "to work out with the Governments of the United Arab Republic and Israel, as speedily as possible, the necessary arrangements to station United Nations Military Observers in the Suez Canal sector . . . ."

The Council met again on October 24 and 25 to consider similar, but more serious violations of the cease-fire in the Suez Canal sector. The U.A.R. complained of extensive Israeli shelling of the city of Suez and nearby industrial installations on October 24. Israel complained about the sinking by Egypt of the Israeli destroyer Eilat on October 21.

The Soviet Union submitted a draft resolution that would have had the Council strongly condemn Israel, demand that Israel compensate the U.A.R. for the damage caused, and urgently call on Israel to observe the Council cease-fire resolution. Ambassador Goldberg said he doubted the Council would take such a one-sided

view of the situation. He offered a draft resolution that would have condemned all violations of the cease-fire and called on all concerned scrupulously to respect the cease-fire, cooperate with UNTSO, and issue categorical instructions to their military forces to refrain from all firing.

On October 25, after long hours of negotiations, the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution very similar to that introduced by the United States the previous day. The resolution:

(1) condemned the violations of the cease-fire,

(2) regretted the casualties and loss of property,

(3) reaffirmed the necessity of the strict observance of the cease-fire resolutions, and

(4) demanded that the states concerned "cease immediately all prohibited military activities in the area" and "cooperate fully and promptly" with UNTSO.

Several countries, including the United States, expressed support for an expansion of the U.N. observer group along the Canal and, following adoption of the resolution, the Secretary-General told the Council that it was apparent that steps were necessary (1) to increase the number of observers along the Canal from 43 to 90, (2) to double the number of observation posts, (3) to acquire as many as four small patrol boats for the observers, and also (4) to acquire four small helicopters for them. The Secretary-General provided the Security Council with additional details on these proposals on October 31.

The Soviet Union, which maintains that the Security Council should closely control all U.N. peacekeeping operations, submitted a draft resolution on November 10 that would have had the Council authorize the Secretary-General to implement the measures he proposed on October 25 and 31. The United States and several other Council members believed the Secretary-General could act without



such specific authorization from the Security Council. Negotiations followed and on December 8 the Council President reported that "the members, recalling the consensus reached . . . on 9 July 1967, recognize the necessity of the enlargement by the Secretary-General of the number of observers in the Suez Canal zone and the provision of additional technical material and means of transportation." The Council never met to consider the Soviet draft resolution.

Previously, the Secretary-General announced on December 1 that he was recruiting the 47 additional observers, that the parties had agreed to the establishment of the additional observation posts, and that discussion of the other proposals was continuing.

#### **SECURITY COUNCIL APPOINTS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE**

There were intensive consultations in New York during September, October, and November on possible U.N. action to help bring permanent peace to the region. Suddenly, on November 7, the U.A.R. asked for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider "the dangerous situation" prevailing as a result of continued Israeli occupation of part of the territory of the U.A.R., Syria, and Jordan. Two draft resolutions which the Council members had been considering during the private consultations were submitted to the Council when it met on November 9.

#### **Draft Resolutions**

Both draft resolutions affirmed certain principles and called for the appointment of a Special Representative to travel to the area.

The Indian draft, which was co-sponsored by Mali and Nigeria, would have had the Council affirm that (1) "occupation or acquisition of territory by military conquest is inadmissible under the Charter of the United Nations and consequently Israel's armed forces should with-

draw from all the territories occupied as a result of the recent conflict"; (2) all states in the area should terminate the state or claim of belligerency; and (3) all states of the area should respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of one another. It would also have affirmed the need for a just settlement of the Palestine refugee question and for guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area "in accordance with international law." The Secretary-General would have been requested (1) to dispatch a Special Representative to the area to contact the states concerned and coordinate efforts to achieve the purposes of the resolution, and (2) to report within 30 days.

The U.S. draft, in its key operative paragraph, would have had the Council affirm that the fulfillment of the principles of article 2 of the Charter required a just and lasting peace in the Middle East "embracing withdrawal of armed forces from occupied territories, termination of claims or states of belligerence, and mutual recognition and respect for the right of every state in the area to sovereign existence, territorial integrity, political independence, secure and recognized boundaries, and freedom from the threat or use of force."

The U.S. draft would also have affirmed the necessity for (1) guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area; (2) achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem; (3) guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every state in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones; and (4) achieving a limitation of the wasteful and destructive arms race in the area.

The Secretary-General was requested to designate a Special Representative to go to the area and maintain contacts with the parties "with a view to assisting them in the work-

ing out of solutions in accordance with the purposes of this resolution and in creating a just and lasting peace in the area." The Secretary-General was asked to report on the progress of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

#### **U.S. Position**

Ambassador Goldberg, speaking on November 9 and 15, said that the problem was to find, through consultations with both sides, a formula that did not prejudice the positions of either and would not preclude the acceptance by either of the assistance, encouragement, and help of the United Nations. The United States believed that its draft resolution was the only such formula before the Council. The U.S. draft was based on President Johnson's five principles of June 19, which both sides had indicated were an acceptable basis for a settlement; it would be the Special Representative's job to work out how they could be achieved in practice. The United States pledged that it would exert its full diplomatic and political influence in support of the efforts of a Special Representative appointed pursuant to its draft resolution.

#### **U.K. Draft Resolution**

Neither the United States nor the three-power draft had the clear support of all Council members, and negotiations continued on possible alternatives. Finally, on November 16 the United Kingdom introduced a draft resolution which ultimately drew such support. Like the U.S. and three-power drafts, the U.K. draft affirmed certain principles and then provided for appointment of a Special Representative.

In its first operative paragraph the U.K. draft affirmed that the fulfillment of U.N. Charter principles required "establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which

should include the application of both the following principles:"

(i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

(ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force.

The second operative paragraph affirmed further the necessity

(a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

(b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

(c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones.

The Secretary-General was requested (1) to designate a Special Representative "to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the states concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution"; and (2) to report on the progress of the Special Representative "as soon as possible."

The U.K. Representative said that the provisions of this draft had been drawn from the work undertaken and proposals put forward by other members of the Council. Together, they represented a balanced whole. For the Arabs, the central issue was withdrawal of Israeli forces. Israel on the other hand stressed that withdrawal could only be to secure and recognized boundaries within the framework of an over-all settlement. These Arab and Israeli aims did not conflict and in fact there would have to be adequate provision for both of them in any resolution.

After the introduction of the U.K. draft, both Israel and the U.A.R. reiterated their positions; neither rejected the British draft.

## Soviet Draft Resolution

Although the United Kingdom had urged early action on its draft, it acquiesced in a delay over the weekend of November 18-19, which was requested by Bulgaria. When the Council reconvened on November 20, the Soviet Union introduced its own draft resolution, which resulted in a further postponement in the voting on the British draft.

This last minute Soviet draft contained some of the points covered in the other drafts, but did not provide for appointment of a U.N. Special Representative. It would have urged (1) immediate withdrawal of forces to positions held before June 5, 1967, and (2) immediate recognition by all states in the area of their mutual right to exist as independent national states and renunciation by them of all claims inconsistent therewith. The Soviet draft would have also had the Council decide to continue consideration of the crisis, seeking a solution based on certain principles, including those of "a just settlement of the question of the Palestine refugees" and "innocent passage through international waterways in the area in accordance with international agreements." The final paragraph of the draft contained the first Soviet expression of interest in arms limitation in the area. It would have declared that, in harmony with the other steps outlined in the draft, "all states in the area should put an end to the state of belligerency, take measures to limit the useless and destructive arms race, and discharge the obligations assumed by them under the Charter of the United Nations and international agreements."

## U.K. Draft Adopted

The Security Council unanimously adopted the U.K. draft resolution on November 22. The United States announced its support for this draft on November 20, and the cosponsors of the three-power draft added their sup-

port on the basis of an Indian interpretation given November 22. The Soviet Union associated itself with the Indian interpretation. The United States, the Soviet Union, and the cosponsors of the three-power draft did not press their proposals to a vote.

Before the voting, the Indian Representative stated it was his understanding that the U.K. resolution would commit the Council "to the application of the principle of total withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the territories . . . occupied by Israel as a result of the conflict which began on 5 June 1967." This meant, he said, withdrawal from Sinai, Gaza, the Old City of Jerusalem, the West Bank of Jordan, and the Syrian Heights. Israel could not use the words "secure and recognized boundaries" which appeared in the resolution to retain any territory occupied as a result of the conflict, although of course mutual territorial adjustments were not ruled out.

The U.K. Representative replied that only the resolution would bind the members of the Council, and its wording was clear; all members could have their own views and interpretations, but on such matters each delegation only spoke for itself. The U.S. Representative immediately associated himself with this view, adding that the members would vote not on the individual views and policies of various members, but on the draft resolution.

Following the voting, Ambassador Goldberg said that the Council had the right to expect that the parties, without prejudice to their respective positions, would receive the Special Representative and cooperate with him in the peacemaking process set in motion by the resolution. He urged all parties to participate in the peacemaking process "with the maximum spirit of accommodation." He pledged that

the diplomatic and political influence of the United States Government will be exerted in support of the efforts of the United Nations representative to achieve

a fair and equitable and dignified settlement so that all in the area can live in peace, security, and tranquillity.

Ambassador Goldberg also noted that had the U.K. resolution not been "so delicately balanced," the United States would have submitted an amendment on the need for arms limitation in the Middle East. The United States was encouraged to see inclusion of a provision to this effect in the Soviet draft resolution, as it had been in the U.S. draft. The mandate of the Special Representative did not exclude his exploring the problem of a limitation on the arms race. The United States would use every resource of diplomacy to find a way to put an end to the waste and futility of the arms race in the Middle East, Ambassador Goldberg said.

Also after the voting, the Jordanian and U.A.R. Representatives restated their countries' interest in securing Israeli withdrawal. They did not comment on the Council resolution. Syria, on the other hand, declared that it did not accept the resolution. Israel said that the primary affirmation of the resolution was the need for "the establishment of a just and lasting peace" based on secure and recognized boundaries. Israel did not agree with the Indian interpretation; for Israel, the resolution meant what it said.

#### **U.N. Special Representative Appointed**

On November 23 the Secretary-General appointed Gunnar Jarring, Swedish Ambassador to Moscow, as the Special Representative provided for in the November 22 Security Council resolution. Ambassador Jarring arrived in New York November 26 and after consultations with U.N. officials, the parties concerned, and other U.N. members, left for the Middle East on December 9. The Secretary-General reported on December 22 that Ambassador Jarring had visited Beirut, Jerusalem, Amman, and Cairo, returning to his base on Cyprus on Decem-

ber 20. Ambassador Jarring began his second round of visits on December 26.

#### **MIDDLE EAST AT THE 22D GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

Although the ESSGA had placed the Middle East question on the agenda of the 22d General Assembly as a matter of "high priority," it was clear from the outset of the session that virtually all members preferred Security Council action to another Assembly debate. Assembly consideration was therefore deferred while the Security Council carried on consultations, and there was no longer any need for such consideration once the Council adopted its resolution of November 22. The President of the Assembly announced, however, when the session adjourned December 19 that the Middle East might be discussed at a resumed session of the 22d General Assembly in the spring of 1968.

#### **U.N. CONCILIATION COMMISSION FOR PALESTINE (PCC)**

The PCC<sup>1</sup> issued its 25th Progress Report on September 30. The report stated that the Commission had continued to "examine various ways in which it might be possible to intensify its efforts with any prospect of advancing matters towards the implementation of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 (III)," which had called for repatriation or compensation of the Palestine refugees. The Commission had concluded that without substantial changes in the situation no progress was likely and that "the developments which have taken place since June of this year have served to further complicate an already very complex problem." The report mentioned that after the official termination of its technical program on September 30, 1966, only a very few inquiries had

<sup>1</sup> Composed of France, Turkey, and the United States.

been received, and that the Commissioner's technical representative had dealt with them during a brief visit to New York in May 1967. The Commission also noted that "much attention had been given to the question of the utilization of the materials collected during the course of the technical program," but that it had not yet made a decision on this matter.

**U.N. RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY  
FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES IN  
THE NEAR EAST**

**UNRWA Report**

The General Assembly at its 22d session again had before it the annual report of the Commissioner General of UNRWA, Laurence Michelmore. He opened the debate in the Special Political Committee on December 11 with the presentation of his report and an up-to-date account of the refugees affected by the June hostilities. After taking into account the 14,000 persons who had returned to the West Bank before September 1, in accordance with arrangements made by Jordan, Israel, and the International Committee of the Red Cross, he estimated the number of new refugees and displaced persons from areas occupied by Israel in June might be as high as 350,000 or 400,000. Of these, about 245,000 were on the East Bank of the Jordan, 60,000 to 70,000 were in the U.A.R., and the remainder were in Syria. On humanitarian grounds he urged that the newly displaced persons be allowed to return to their homes to avoid facing the coming winter in the misery and discomfort of the temporary tent camps or in the even more precarious conditions outside the camps. He said that some 51,000 persons, both UNRWA-registered and nonregistered, were living in newly assembled tent camps in the Jordan Valley, and that winter winds, sandstorms, and violent rain made the life extremely difficult.

He expressed the earnest hope that the Security Council's resolution of

November 22 (see p. 47) would mark a turning point in the history of the Middle East. Of particular interest, he noted, was the affirmation in the resolution of the "necessity . . . for achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem."

The Commissioner General reported some progress in rectifying the ration rolls in East Jordan as a result of the need, during the emergency following the June hostilities, to ensure that food be distributed directly to the intended beneficiaries. New procedures had revealed false or duplicate registrations and absentee ration card holders, the necessary corrections had been made, and merchants were no longer able to traffic in ration cards.

Mr. Michelmore affirmed UNRWA's conviction that education is the key to opportunity for the younger refugees. Therefore, after ensuring survival and relieving immediate distress, UNRWA proposed using as much as possible of its emergency relief fund to strengthen educational services in order to equip refugees to take advantage of all employment opportunities.

**General Assembly Consideration**

Some 50 countries took part in the ensuing debate, which continued until December 16. The Committee also agreed, as it had at two previous sessions, to hear representatives of the "Palestine Arab delegation" and the "Palestine Liberation Organization," stipulating that this did not signify recognition of the organizations.

During the debate Arab representatives reiterated their longstanding complaints of nonimplementation of past Assembly decisions on the refugee problem, attacking Israel in particular in this respect. They were joined by many others, including the United States, in urging Israel to permit the speedy return of those who had fled from areas occupied by Israel in the June war but now

wished to return. Israel denied any special responsibility in connection with the refugee problem, but expressed its willingness to discuss it along with other issues in direct negotiation with the Arab States concerned in order for the parties to agree on a lasting peace settlement.

**U.S. Position.** On December 14 the U.S. Representative, Congressman L. H. Fountain, expressed dismay over "the desperate plight of those made homeless by both the recent and the previous conflicts" and stressed that "our immediate concern must be the practical action we can take" to improve the situation. Beyond that, he said, "we must continue to help the refugees to build, and re-build, the individual human lives which have been broken and disrupted by the tragic events of the past twenty years."

He expressed the hope that the action called for in the November 22 Security Council resolution "can lead to new hope and new security for the refugees." While the U.N. Special Representative, appointed in accordance with the resolution, sought to assist the governments concerned to find ways of reaching a general settlement, the refugees would continue to need the help and support of all.

He noted that UNRWA, which had done so much good for the refugees in the past, stood ready to carry on this task. He commended UNRWA in particular for its record of service in the days and weeks immediately following the June hostilities when it assumed the task of providing food, clothing, shelter, education, and medical services for more than 200,000 displaced persons.

In this connection, he reiterated the U.S. belief that all refugees and persons who were displaced by the recent conflict should be allowed and encouraged to return to their homes. The United States, he said, supported the Security Council resolution of June 14, which called upon the Gov-

ernment of Israel to facilitate the return of these people, and believed it must be implemented to the fullest extent possible. He reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to the principle of justice for the refugees, as stated by President Johnson on June 19. He expressed the view that this commitment should be shared by the entire world community.

Referring to the statement in UNRWA's report that the process of rehabilitation of the refugees had been making slow but steady progress up to the time of the June hostilities, the U.S. Representative expressed the hope that this process would be resumed and accelerated. He also called attention to the continuing need for rectification of UNRWA's ration rolls, noting, however, that considerable progress had been made on the problem in Jordan since the end of hostilities.

#### **U.S. - Sponsored Resolution.**

Congressman Fountain introduced a draft resolution almost identical to that adopted the previous year which:

(1) noted with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees had not been effected, that there had been no substantial progress in reintegrating refugees by repatriation or resettlement, and that, therefore, the situation continued to be a matter of serious concern;

(2) thanked UNRWA and other agencies and organizations for continued assistance to the refugees;

(3) directed UNRWA's Commissioner General to continue his efforts, including rectification of the relief rolls, to assure, in cooperation with the Governments concerned, the most equitable distribution of relief based on need;

(4) noted with regret that the PCC had been unable to find a means to achieve progress on the implementation of paragraph 11 of General Assembly Resolution 194 (III) (see p. 48) and requested it to exert con-

tinued efforts toward this implementation;

(5) directed attention to the critical financial position of UNRWA;

(6) noted with concern that contributions continued to fall short of requirements; and

(7) called upon all governments to make the most generous efforts possible to meet UNRWA's anticipated needs.

The resolution was adopted in Committee on December 16 by a roll-call vote of 99 to 0, with 2 abstentions (Congo (Brazzaville) and Israel). It was adopted in plenary on December 19 by a vote of 98 to 0, with 3 abstentions.

**Humanitarian Resolution.** Sweden, with 18 cosponsors, submitted a draft resolution stressing the humanitarian aspects of the problem of the persons displaced as a result of the June war. It was very similar to and reaffirmed the resolution, sponsored by many of the same states, adopted by the ESSGA on July 4 (see p. 41). In addition, it took note of the UNRWA Commissioner General's report and a report submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to the July 4 resolution. This report, based on information provided by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Nils-Göran Gussing, reviewed the refugee situation in each of the affected areas and indicated that only a small percentage of the refugees from the West Bank of Jordan had so far been able to return. The draft resolution again endorsed UNRWA's efforts to assist on a temporary emergency basis displaced persons in serious need as a result of the hostilities, and appealed to governments, organizations, and individuals to make special contributions to UNRWA and other organizations concerned for the emergency aid program. This resolution was approved in committee on December 16 by a vote of 102 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention. On December 19 it was adopted in plenary with-

out opposition or abstentions, 105 delegations voting for it.

**Property Custodian Draft Resolution.** On December 15 Afghanistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Somalia submitted a draft resolution calling for the appointment of a custodian "to protect and administer Arab property, assets and property rights in Israel and to receive income derived therefrom on behalf of the rightful owners." The Arab States have long favored this idea but Israel has vigorously opposed it, making clear it would not cooperate with any such custodian even if appointed. An identical proposal had been rejected in committee at the 20th and 21st Assembly sessions in 1965 and 1966.

The United States strongly opposed this draft as it had previously, pointing out that:

(1) establishment of a property custodian would neither facilitate the tasks of UNRWA nor improve the prospects for a realistic permanent solution of the refugee problem, but would seriously jeopardize those prospects;

(2) such action would constitute a very substantial obstacle to the mission of the Secretary-General's representative, Ambassador Jarring (see p. 48);

(3) the United Nations had no right under the Charter or in international law to try to set up a custodian for properties within any sovereign state; and,

(4) it would put the Secretary-General in an impossible position to direct him to implement a resolution that disregarded the Charter and international law.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Seymour M. Finger, suggested that proposals regarding income from Arab properties should be considered as an aspect of the general question of compensation. He pointed out that the PCC, which had done considerable work on the question of property as-

sets, had invited Arab governments to discuss this question.

This draft resolution was approved in committee by a vote of 42 to 38 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions, but it was not pressed to a vote in plenary.

#### Financial Aspects

Representing the United States at UNRWA's December 6 pledging conference, Congressman Fountain observed that the regular program of UNRWA continued to deserve full support. He noted that although contributions for the emergency program had exceeded the requirements during 1967, the regular program had again operated at a substantial deficit. He hoped that all members realized that such a situation could not continue indefinitely and would be as generous in support of the regular program in relation to anticipated needs as they had been in supporting the emergency program.

With regard to the emergency program, Congressman Fountain pointed out that in June the United States had made a special contribution of \$2 million to UNRWA to meet urgent relief needs (see p. 42). The United States had also contributed \$340,000 to the International Committee of the Red Cross and \$1,675,000 worth of tents and other relief supplies to Jordan. The U.S. Representative then drew attention to the contributions of a private American organization, Near East Emergency Donations Incorporated (NEED), which had been formed after the June conflict for the specific purpose of aiding the refugees. NEED had pledges of \$8 million, of which \$2.5 million had already been paid to UNRWA.

The U.S. Representative explained that he could not announce a formal pledge to the regular program because the Congress had not yet completed the necessary legislative action. Subject to that action, however, the United States intended to make the same pledge for the year ending June 30,

1968, that it had for the previous fiscal year—\$22.2 million in cash and foodstuffs, with the provision that the U.S. contribution could not exceed 70 percent of the total governmental contributions to the regular program. He noted that the U.S. contribution in the last several years had actually been about 65 percent of the governmental contributions. The United States believed this to be still too high a percentage for a multilateral program and had considered reducing the stated maximum percentage. In view of the emergency situation arising out of the hostilities, however, it had decided not to do so at this time.

In reporting on December 11 to the Special Political Committee, Commissioner General Michelmore expressed the hope that governments which had been regular contributors but had not yet announced a pledge for 1968 would do so.

He said that 33 governments (including the United States) had pledged a total of \$26.3 million on December 6, and that with anticipated additional pledges and supplemental allocations from governments, a balance of nonexpended funds contributed for emergency purposes in 1967, and further donations from nongovernmental sources, UNRWA "might envision total resources of about \$40 million" for 1968. He pointed out that even if this sum were attained UNRWA would still be confronted with a shortfall of \$7-\$7.5 million.

The Commissioner General estimated the 1968 UNRWA budget at about \$47.5 million, a sum that would not, however, cover the needs of all the persons displaced in 1967. He explained that in 1967 assistance for many of these people who were not previously registered with UNRWA had come from other sources, including nongovernmental organizations. There had also been considerable direct bilateral governmental help to the countries where the newly displaced persons were living. In addition he singled out for mention two



U.N. programs that had given substantial help: the U.N./FAO World Food Program had supplied food for 100,000 persons in Jordan, 100,000 in Syria, and 35,000 in the U.A.R.; UNICEF had given \$400,000 worth of aid and was considering another equal donation in support of feeding, health, and educational programs for mothers and children.

By the end of 1967 \$33.5 million had been pledged to UNRWA's regular program by 37 governments.

## Oman

The United Nations handled the question of Oman in the same perfunctory manner in 1967 as it had in 1966. Although firmly established as a "colonial" issue by the 20th General Assembly over U.S. and U.K. objections, the question of Oman was considered only briefly by the Committee of 24 (see part III for further activities of this committee) in 1966 and hardly at all in 1967. The Committee of 24 made no substantive recommendations to the Assembly on the question in either year. The Secretary-General, charged with taking appropriate measures to implement the 20th and 21st General Assembly resolutions on Oman, reported in both 1966 and 1967 that he would consult with the Committee of 24 after it had acted.

At the 22d General Assembly the Fourth Committee considered the question of Oman intermittently between November 24 and December 8. On the latter date it adopted by a vote of 70 to 16 (U.K., U.S.), with 18 abstentions, a resolution very similar to that adopted by the 21st General Assembly. The resolution, which was sponsored by 34 African and Asian states and Yugoslavia,

(1) reaffirmed the right of the people to self-determination and independence;

(2) deplored the U.K. "refusal" to

implement previous Assembly resolutions on Oman;

(3) further deplored "the policies of the United Kingdom, which, by installing and strengthening unrepresentative regimes in the territory without regard for the basic rights of the people, is contravening the relevant General Assembly resolutions";

(4) reaffirmed that the natural resources of Oman belonged to the people and that concessions granted to foreign enterprises without their consent constituted a violation of their rights;

(5) considered that the U.K. "military presence" in the territory constituted a "major hindrance to the exercise by the people of their right to self-determination and independence" and was "prejudicial to peace and security in the region";

(6) called on the United Kingdom to implement without delay the General Assembly resolutions on Oman;

(7) further called on the United Kingdom immediately to remove British troops and military bases, to cease "all repressive action against the people," and to release political prisoners and permit political exiles to return; and

(8) appealed to all members "to render all necessary assistance to the people of the Territory in their struggle to obtain freedom and independence."

The Committee of 24 was requested to continue its examination of the question and to consider establishment of a sub-committee on Oman. The Secretary-General was again asked to take, in consultation with the Committee of 24, appropriate measures to implement the Assembly resolutions on Oman and to report to the 23d General Assembly.

The U.K. Representative again stated that the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman was an independent state—not a British colony—and that the Fourth Committee and the Committee of 24 consequently had no right to deal with the Sultanate's internal af-

fairs. There were no British forces stationed in Oman apart from some 50 British officers seconded as instructors, and the two air bases maintained in the Sultanate by the United Kingdom were provided for in an agreement between the two countries and were used exclusively for supply purposes. The U.K. Representative also objected to the inclusion in the descriptive portion of the Committee of 24 report on Oman of material on the Trucial Sheikdoms, which, he said, had nothing to do with Oman.

On December 8 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Hector P. Garcia, explained that his government opposed the resolution because the United States had no doubt about the sovereignty of the Sultanate. Since 1833 the United States had maintained relations with the Sultanate which were based on the principle of equality and had been agreed upon by two sovereign states without the intervention of any other power.

The resolution was adopted in plenary on December 12 by a vote of 72 to 18 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions.

## South Africa—Apartheid

South Africa's official policy of racial discrimination (apartheid) was considered during 1967 by the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (also known as the Special Committee on Apartheid), by the 22d General Assembly both in the Special Political Committee and in plenary meetings, and by a number of other U.N. bodies, including specialized agencies and ECOSOC commissions. In addition, apartheid was considered at a special international seminar held at Kitwe, Zambia, from July 25 to August 4.

### APARTHEID COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION

The Special Committee on Apartheid was established by a General Assembly resolution of November 6, 1962. Its mandate is to keep under review various aspects of the question of apartheid and to submit reports as appropriate to the General Assembly or the Security Council. The Special Committee is presently composed of 11 members: Algeria, Costa Rica, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, the Philippines, and Somalia. A 1965 resolution of the General Assembly called for the enlargement of the Committee by 6 members; however, the President of the 20th General Assembly reported that he was unable to select 6 additional members within the precise requirements set forth by the resolution.

The Special Committee began its work for 1967 on January 5. In its sessions at Headquarters, the Special Committee considered, among other things, reports of the maltreatment of political prisoners in South Africa, and decided on January 13 to draw the attention of the Commission on Human Rights to the condition of political prisoners in South Africa. On February 3 it sent a letter to the Commission, requesting that steps be taken to secure an international investigation of the reports of maltreatment. (See part II, p. 138) for consideration by the Commission on Human Rights.)

On January 13 the Secretary-General informed the Special Committee that a Unit on Apartheid had been established within the Section for African Questions of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs. The Unit was established in response to a General Assembly resolution of October 26, 1966, which called for a body within the Secretariat to deal exclusively with the policies of apartheid in order to give maximum publicity to the evils of those policies.

## **UNESCO Report on the Effects of Apartheid**

In 1965 the Special Committee had requested the Secretariat of UNESCO to prepare a report on the effects of apartheid on education, science, culture, and information in South Africa. The completed report was transmitted by the Secretary-General to the Special Committee on January 11, 1967. It concluded that apartheid fails to meet economic and social standards established by the international community, and fosters inequality and race conflict. The Special Committee decided on January 13 to request the Secretariat to ensure the widest possible dissemination of the report.

The South African Representative later protested the appearance of a summary of the UNESCO study in the March 1967 issue of the *UN Monthly Chronicle*, claiming that the study and the summary were false and misleading, and constituted propaganda against a member state. His protest was circulated among the member states in a U.N. document dated August 11.

## **Special Committee Expresses Concern About U.S. Bank Loans**

The Special Committee on February 3 expressed concern about reports that several New York banks had decided to renew a revolving credit of \$40 million to the South African Government. It decided to convey its concern to the United States and to ask that steps be taken to prevent the renewal. An officer of the Special Committee met with Ambassador Goldberg on February 9.

Ambassador Goldberg reaffirmed the U.S. opposition to apartheid and readiness to seek peaceful and practical means to persuade the South African Government to change its racial policies. He said that leaders of the American business community were informed of the U.S. Government's views on apartheid but, except for the embargo on the sale of arms, ammunition, military vehicles, and

items for their maintenance and manufacture, the Government had no basis for restricting private economic relations with South Africa. Ambassador Goldberg subsequently met with officers of the banks in question to draw their attention to the Special Committee's expressions of concern and to reiterate the U.S. Government's views on apartheid.

## **Committee Sessions Away From Headquarters**

The Special Committee decided on April 11 to send a six-member subcommittee to London, Geneva, Paris, and Dar es Salaam to consult with U.N. specialized agencies, South African liberation movements, anti-apartheid organizations, and private individuals. The subcommittee traveled during July, and in its report recommended, among other things, that the specialized agencies give greater publicity to studies relevant to apartheid. The report added, however, that the activities of the specialized agencies in their respective fields with regard to the problem of apartheid were bound to be limited because of their respective constitutions, and that only the appropriate U.N. organs could deal effectively with the political questions involved in the elimination of apartheid.

The subcommittee's report expressed concern about the difficulties of settlement of South African refugees in countries of asylum and recommended that the Special Committee find ways to persuade African countries to facilitate asylum, relief, and assistance without regard to the refugee's political affiliations. The subcommittee drew the African countries' attention to the need for issuing travel documents to South African refugees who wish to travel for purposes of work or education. It suggested that the Organization of African Unity be approached with a view to coordinating the settlement and employment of refugees.

The report included various recommendations to facilitate the work of the U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa (see p. 58) and the Educational and Training Program for South Africans (see p. 235). It also recommended that the Special Committee consider ways to publicize the effects of apartheid on trade union activities and to lend practical assistance to the South African people's struggle against apartheid.

The Special Committee took note of the subcommittee's report on September 26 and decided to take it into account in preparing its own report to the General Assembly and the Security Council.

#### Committee Report

The Special Committee's report on its work since the 21st General Assembly was adopted on October 17. The report reiterated the view that the situation in southern Africa was one of extreme gravity, and that South Africa's policies of apartheid were aggravating the situation throughout southern Africa. The Special Committee saw the need for urgent and effective action to resolve the situation. It singled out the main trading partners of South Africa, including the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Japan, and several other Western European countries, as having failed to support effective measures against South Africa. The report called for intensifying the "international campaign against apartheid," action against South Africa by the Security Council, withdrawal of foreign private investment from South Africa, recognition of the "legitimacy" of the struggle of the people of South Africa for their rights, greater coordination of and publicity for anti-apartheid efforts, and more support for humanitarian and educational assistance to the victims of apartheid.

#### INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON APARTHEID, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

A General Assembly resolution of December 16, 1966, had requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Committee of 24 and the Special Committee on Apartheid, to organize an international conference or seminar on apartheid, racial discrimination, and colonialism in southern Africa. On February 21 the Secretary-General requested the advice of the two committees. A joint working group of the committees assisted the Secretary-General in the organization of the seminar, which was held, at the invitation of the Government of Zambia, at Kitwe, Zambia, from July 25 to August 4.

The countries participating were:

Algeria	Nigeria
Botswana	Pakistan
Brazil	Poland
Canada	Romania
Chile	Sierra Leone
Congo (Kinshasa)	Somalia
Czechoslovakia	Sweden
Denmark	Syria
Finland	Tanzania
Ghana	Turkey
Hungary	U.S.S.R.
India	U.A.R.
Iran	United States
Iraq	Venezuela
Japan	Yugoslavia
Malaysia	Zambia

The U.S. Representative was Ambassador Olcott H. Deming. There were observers from U.N. specialized agencies, regional organizations, African liberation movements, and other non-governmental organizations such as the African-American Institute, the American Committee on Africa, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

The Seminar elected as its chairman the Tanzanian Representative, Ambassador John W. S. Malecela. The agenda included the following items:

(1) The Situation in South Africa: Political, Economic, and Military Structure;

(2) Foreign Financial and Other Interests and Their Role in Impeding the Elimination of Apartheid, Racial Discrimination, and Colonialism in Southern Africa;

(3) Consequences of the Situation in Southern Africa for International Peace and Security; and

(4) Consideration of the Measures Taken and of Additional Measures to Be Taken by the International Community for the Elimination of Apartheid, Racial Discrimination, and Colonialism in Southern Africa.

The Seminar approved draft resolutions on South-West Africa and mercenary activities in the Congo (Kinshasa). The representatives of eight countries, including the United States, expressed the view that resolutions were not a proper function of a seminar and did not participate in the votes, citing the absence of authorization from their governments.

On August 3 a set of conclusions and recommendations, developed for the most part by the African and Asian delegations, was presented for a vote. These conclusions and recommendations, *inter alia*, included a call for Security Council action against the white minority regimes of southern Africa and those countries that flout existing U.N. sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, as well as other measures to expose and coerce the white minority regimes. The U.S. Representative joined the Danish Representative and others in objecting to some of the conclusions and recommendations, especially those which envisaged coercive action or raised complex questions of interpretation of the U.N. Charter and international law. The Danish Representative proposed the establishment of a drafting committee to develop a more acceptable set of conclusions and recommendations. The Seminar declined the Danish proposal, however, and adopted the Afro-Asian conclusions and recommendations, as well as a "final declaration" along similar lines.

The U.S. Representative stated that

although the United States would continue to work toward the peaceful elimination of all barriers to freedom, equality, and majority rule in southern Africa, the United States could not endorse the conclusions and recommendations. He indicated that the United States supported many of the objectives of the Afro-Asian draft and some of the actions recommended. On the other hand, the draft contained statements and positions that the United States was known traditionally to oppose, in addition to misrepresentations of facts and demands for actions that would impinge on the areas of competence of the General Assembly and the Security Council. He regretted the lack of adequate consultation in the preparation of the conclusions and recommendations.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The item "The Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa" has been on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1952. During the 22d session the item was debated by the Special Political Committee between October 19 and November 22, and also in plenary meetings. The Committee had a number of reports before it. In addition to those of the Special Committee on Apartheid and the International Seminar, there were two by the Secretary-General—one on the U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa (see p. 58), the other on the Secretary-General's consultations with the IBRD concerning General Assembly resolutions requesting the IBRD to withhold assistance from South Africa (see p. 212).

In a November 10 statement before the Special Political Committee, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Seymour M. Finger, stated that "apartheid represents nothing less than 'the usurpation of the political, social, and economic rights of the black majority by a white minority—

whose own liberty is in turn being eroded by the unnatural situation it has created." Events in South Africa since the last session of the General Assembly had followed the same deplorable trend which had been of concern since the founding of the United Nations. Internally, the Government of South Africa continued to close avenues to peaceful change. In its external relations the Government of South Africa ignored treaty obligations by extending apartheid to South-West Africa and by other actions. Instead of becoming discouraged, he said, the international community should redouble its efforts to turn the common purpose of member states into peaceful and practical demonstrations of the U.N. dedication to racial equality.

The U.S. Representative recognized that some member states had become impatient with peaceful measures in the face of South Africa's refusal to change its racial policies. He said that no easy solution was in sight but that any measures taken must be practical, peaceful, and within the capacity of the international community to achieve. He reaffirmed U.S. readiness to consider "new and constructive measures that we can take—either unilaterally or in concert with others—to deal with this problem."

A draft resolution, eventually sponsored by 51 African, Asian, and other states, was introduced on November 15. It was approved in the Special Political Committee on November 22 by a vote of 81 to 1, with 13 abstentions (U.S.), and in plenary session on December 13 by a vote of 89 to 2, with 12 abstentions (U.S.). The resolution, among other things, reiterated the General Assembly's condemnation of apartheid; reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the people of South Africa for their human rights; and strongly reiterated the conviction that the situation in South Africa constituted a threat to international peace and security.

The resolution drew the attention of the Security Council to the need for effective measures, including mandatory economic sanctions under chapter VII of the Charter; requested all countries, particularly the main trading partners of South Africa, to disengage from South Africa; requested the IBRD to deny financial, economic, and technical assistance to South Africa; and recommended a number of other measures for the enlightenment of international public opinion and the intensification of the international campaign against apartheid. The resolution condemned the actions of countries, particularly the main trading partners of South Africa, and the activities of foreign financial and other interests, which were alleged to be encouraging South Africa to persist in its racial policies.

After the vote in the Special Political Committee the U.S. Representative explained that, although the United States unreservedly associated itself with the international consensus on apartheid and would support appropriate, effective, and peaceful measures to convince the South African Government of the inherent dangers of apartheid, it could not support the resolution because it did not believe that apartheid, though abhorrent, at present constituted a threat to international peace and security. The allegation that the "main trading partners" of South Africa were encouraging that country to persist in its racial policies, he said, was an over-simplified formula disseminated by certain countries for their own purposes and one that hindered U.N. efforts to identify the real causes of apartheid and devise appropriate solutions.

#### **TRUST FUND FOR SOUTH AFRICA**

The U.N. Trust Fund for South Africa was established by the General Assembly in 1965. The Fund depends on voluntary contributions

from states, organizations, and individuals, and is to be used for grants to voluntary organizations for legal assistance, relief, and education of South African victims of apartheid, their children, and other dependents.

In his report to the 22d General Assembly, dated October 23, the Secretary-General indicated that since the establishment of the Trust Fund contributions had totaled \$430,068 and grants \$308,400, leaving a balance of \$121,668. A report of the Committee of Trustees that administers the Fund was appended to the Secretary-General's report. The Committee, made up of representatives of Chile, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Sweden, reported its gratification at expressions of support from the Special Committee on Apartheid; the Commission on Human Rights; the International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination, and Colonialism in Southern Africa; and other U.N. bodies. The Committee appealed for further contributions to continue the humanitarian work of the Trust Fund.

## Viet-Nam

In his state of the Union message on January 10, 1967, President Johnson repeated his pledge to cooperate in efforts from any source to bring peace to Viet-Nam.

### SECRETARY-GENERAL'S INITIATIVE

The Secretary-General was active during the year on the Viet-Nam question, consulting widely and making a number of suggestions and statements. For example, during a private trip to his native Burma in early March U Thant met unofficially with North Vietnamese representatives. After his return to New York, the Secretary-General circulated to all parties in the conflict an aide memoire dated March 14 in which he proposed

a general stand-still truce, preliminary talks, and reconvening of the Geneva Conference.

Expressing his view that a halt to all military activities by all sides is a practical necessity if useful negotiations are to be undertaken, the Secretary-General suggested a general stand-still truce, if necessary without effective supervision, as the only course open that could lead to fruitful negotiations. The preliminary talks would be concerned with "the modalities for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference, with the sole purpose of returning to the essentials of that Agreement as repeatedly expressed by all parties to the conflict." He proposed that in the preliminary talks the parties seek to reach an agreement on the timing, place, agenda, and participants in the reconvened Geneva Conference. Finally, he suggested that the preliminary talks might include only the United States and North Viet-Nam, or could be enlarged to include the Geneva Conference cochairmen, the members of the International Control Commission, or all of these.

### REPLIES TO SECRETARY-GENERAL'S AIDE MEMOIRE

In an interim reply on March 15 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, informed the Secretary-General that the United States welcomed his proposals and was consulting with the Government of South Viet-Nam and its allies concerning them.

The definitive U.S. reply, delivered by Ambassador Goldberg on March 18, stated that the United States accepted the Secretary-General's three-step proposal of March 14 and believed that an effective cessation of hostilities, as the first of the three steps, should be promptly negotiated. The United States was prepared to enter into discussions for this purpose immediately and constructively, and was willing to take the next steps in any of the forms suggested by the

Secretary-General to enter into preliminary talks leading to an agreement to reconvene the Geneva Conference. The U.S. reply also noted that the Government of South Viet-Nam would have to be appropriately involved throughout the entire process and the interests and views of the other allies would also have to be taken fully into account.

The Republic of Viet-Nam replied that it agreed in principle with the main points of the Secretary-General's proposals. It suggested that an effective military truce should be negotiated between representatives of the high command of the Hanoi government forces and those of the Republic of Viet-Nam armed forces and, in the interest of an earlier settlement, offered to participate immediately in a Geneva-type international conference without preliminary talks though such talks could be held if they proved necessary.

In reply to questions asked by the official Viet-Nam News Agency in Hanoi, a North Vietnamese foreign ministry spokesman on March 27 described U Thant's proposals as unrealistic, stating that to call on both sides to cease fire and to hold unconditional negotiations while the United States was "committing aggression" against Viet-Nam was to make no distinction between the "aggressor" and the "victim of aggression." The agency also reiterated the North Vietnamese Government's view that the Viet-Nam problem was no concern of the United Nations, which had no right to interfere in any way in the Viet-Nam question.

#### **POSSIBLE SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION**

Consultations conducted at the beginning of 1967 with the members of the Security Council, both new and old, revealed that the change in the Council's membership had not significantly altered its past reluctance to consider formally the Viet-Nam

question. In August, as the 22d General Assembly approached and public interest in the possibility of U.N. action on Viet-Nam grew, both here and abroad, the U.S. Representative again undertook consultations with Security Council members and others on the prospects for resuming constructive consideration of this item.

On November 2 Ambassador Goldberg described the steps that had been taken when he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the subject of the responsibility of the United Nations in the search for peace in Viet-Nam. The testimony was part of the committee's consideration of two resolutions—one submitted by Senator Wayne Morse, the other by Senator Mike Mansfield—covering the question of submitting the Viet-Nam conflict to the U.N. Security Council.

Ambassador Goldberg recalled the intensive canvass of the members of the Security Council that he had conducted in the summer at the request of the President to determine the possibility of Council action—either on the U.S. resolution offered in 1966 or on a new draft resolution designed to take account of the views of those who argued that the Geneva Conference, rather than the United Nations, was the proper forum for consideration of the Viet-Nam problem.

The canvass had shown once again a general unwillingness for the Security Council either to resume its consideration of the agenda item and draft resolution proposed by the United States in January 1966, or to consider the new U.S. draft, or to take any other action on the question. He noted also the negative reactions to U.N. consideration by the North Vietnamese, the National Liberation Front (NLF), and the Chinese Communists.

The U.S. Representative informed the committee that the United States would not stand in the way of a Council decision to invite all parties to the conflict to participate in any of



its deliberations on Viet-Nam. He pointed out that the U.N. Charter provides that governments interested in a question before the Council may participate in its proceedings, and that rule 39 of the Security Council's provisional rules of procedure would permit groups such as the NLF to be invited to participate.

The U.S. Representative concluded by stating that the failure of his efforts to engage the United Nations in the search for peace in Viet-Nam had been the keenest disappointment and the greatest frustration of his service at the United Nations. He said, however, that he intended to persist in his efforts and that the resolution introduced by Senator Mansfield in the Senate, calling on the U.S. Government to take the initiative once again in the Security Council, would, if adopted by the Senate, support the efforts of the U.S. Representative to secure U.N. action.

The Senate subsequently passed the Mansfield resolution on November 30 by a unanimous vote.

At the end of the year, with the prospect of change in Security Council membership, further consultations were undertaken but failed to reveal any substantial support among Council members for formal U.N. discussion of the Viet-Nam conflict.

#### **GENERAL ASSEMBLY DISCUSSION**

Although Viet-Nam did not appear on the agenda of the 22d General Assembly, it was one of the subjects most frequently touched upon during the general debate at the opening of the session. The U.S. Representative, speaking second in the general debate, recapitulated the U.S. commitment to a political solution of the conflict, saying:

Our basic view is one which I am sure is shared by the great majority of the Assembly: that this conflict can and should be ended by a political solution at the earliest possible time. A military solution is not the answer. For our part, we do not seek to impose a military solu-

tion on North Viet-Nam or on its adherents. By the same token, in fidelity to our commitment to a political solution, we will not permit North Viet-Nam and its adherents to impose a military solution upon South Viet-Nam.

Noting that some say the bombing of North Viet-Nam is the sole obstacle to negotiations, Ambassador Goldberg pointed out that various parties, including the Secretary-General, had expressed their belief or assumption that Hanoi "would" enter into negotiations if the bombings stopped. He pointed out, however, that Hanoi had merely indicated that there "could" be negotiations if the bombing stopped, and that no third party had conveyed an authoritative message from Hanoi that there would in fact be negotiations. Affirming that the United States would be glad to consider any proposal that would lead promptly to productive discussions, Ambassador Goldberg said it was not unreasonable to seek enlightenment on this question: "Does North Viet-Nam conceive that the cessation of bombing would or should lead to any other results than meaningful negotiations or discussions under circumstances which would not disadvantage either side?"

To the governments supporting Hanoi that had stated to the United States their beliefs concerning Hanoi's intentions, he addressed a second question: "If the United States were to take the first step and order a prior cessation of the bombing, what would they then do or refrain from doing, and how would they then use their influence and power, in order to move the Viet-Nam conflict promptly toward a peaceful resolution?"

He emphasized that constructive answers to these two questions would aid in the search for peace.

To meet the view that the principles of an honorable settlement should be articulated more precisely, Ambassador Goldberg set forth the principles as envisaged by the United States. He noted that the United States agreed with the widely accepted view that the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962

should constitute the basis for settlement, and stated that in the U.S. view this would entail:

1. A complete cease-fire and disengagement by all armed personnel in both North and South Viet-Nam on a specified date. . . .

2. No military forces, armed personnel, or bases to be maintained in North or South Viet-Nam except those under the control of the respective governments. This would mean withdrawing or demobilizing all other troops, withdrawing external military and related personnel introduced from outside South Viet-Nam, and the evacuation of military bases, as soon as possible under an agreed time schedule. . . .

3. Full respect for the international frontiers of the states bordering on North and South Viet-Nam, as well as for the demarcation line and demilitarized zone between North and South Viet-Nam. . . .

4. Peaceful settlement by the people in both North and South Viet-Nam of the question of reunification, without foreign interference. . . .

5. Finally, supervision of all the foregoing by agreed-upon international machinery. . . .

He said that he hoped a settlement could be reached by reaffirming the principles of the Geneva agreements and by the reconvening of a Geneva conference in which all concerned parties could appropriately participate.

He then posed an additional question: "Does North Viet-Nam agree that the foregoing points are a correct interpretation of the Geneva Agreements to which it professedly subscribes?" Ambassador Goldberg restated the U.S. aims toward North Viet-Nam: the United States is fully prepared to respect North Viet-Nam's sovereignty and territorial integrity; it has no designs on its territory; it does not seek to overthrow its government. By the same token, he said, the people of South Viet-Nam should have the right to work out peacefully their own political future, without external interference.

He concluded that "if there is any contribution that diplomacy, whether bilateral or multilateral, can make to hasten the end of this conflict, none in this Assembly can in good con-

science spare any effort or any labor to make that contribution—no matter how frustrating past efforts may have been or how many new beginnings may be required." Emphasizing that the United States stood ready to make that effort, the U.S. Representative said:

The President of the United States, speaking specifically of Viet-Nam, has said: ". . . we Americans know the nature of a fair bargain. No people ever need fear negotiating with Americans." In the flexible spirit of that statement, and speaking for the United States Government, I affirm without reservation the willingness of the United States to seek and find a political solution of the conflict in Viet-Nam.

The representatives of most other member states voiced some views on Viet-Nam in the course of the general debate. A minority of those who spoke was outspokenly critical of U.S. policies. A larger minority indicated that they favored a pause or an end to the U.S. bombing of North Viet-Nam in the hope or expectation that this would lead to negotiations and/or restraint by the other side also. It was noteworthy that relatively few speakers considered that the United Nations could play a significant role in arriving at a settlement. Some delegations, notably those of France, the Soviet Union, and other Eastern European countries, said specifically that they did not consider the United Nations to be competent to consider the question of Viet-Nam.

On September 29, shortly after the opening of the 22d General Assembly, President Johnson outlined the U.S. position on negotiations in a major address at San Antonio, Texas:

We have twice sought to have the issue of Viet-Nam dealt with by the United Nations—and twice Hanoi has refused.

Our desire to negotiate peace—through the United Nations or out—has been made very, very clear to Hanoi—directly and many times through third parties.

As we have told Hanoi time and time and time again, the heart of the matter really is this: The United States is willing to stop all aerial and naval bombardment

of North Viet-Nam when this will lead promptly to productive discussions. We, of course, assume that while discussions proceed, North Viet-Nam would not take advantage of the bombing cessation or limitation.

#### ACTIVITIES ON BEHALF OF THE NLF

During the 22d General Assembly two events occurred that reflected apparent attempts to use the United Nations to lend some stature to the NLF, despite the fact that, like the leadership in Hanoi, the Front had consistently rejected the competence of the United Nations to concern itself with Viet-Nam.

On December 7 the U.S. Representative informed the press that in the latter part of September a responsible official of the U.N. Secretariat had approached him with a personal, not official, communication from the Secretary-General. The latter had received an inquiry from an unnamed intermediary whether the United States would (1) be agreeable to having two or three NLF representatives come to New York, and (2) grant them visas.

Within a few days Ambassador Goldberg had asked for further information from the U.N. Secretariat official making the inquiry: What would be the purpose of the proposed visit? Who were the individuals involved? What passports would they use? What kind of visas did they require and for what duration? Who was the intermediary and how reliable was he regarded by the U.N. Secretariat?

In early November the Secretariat source informed Ambassador Goldberg that two unnamed persons, traveling on North Vietnamese passports, wished visas to come to the United States for one year or possibly two. The individuals sought "no status with" the United Nations, but would "work principally" at the United Nations and would not refuse interviews with television, radio, and press.

Ambassador Goldberg responded shortly thereafter that the United States would grant visas in connection with any U.N. business or on requests made by the United Nations in accordance with the Headquarters Agreement. At the same time he informed the Secretary-General that the United States would not object to or stand in the way of substantive participation by the NLF in any Security Council discussion of Viet-Nam were the NLF to be invited under Security Council rule 39.

In informing the press on December 7 of these developments Ambassador Goldberg noted that the name of the intermediary had never been given and that there had been no further developments since the United States had responded to the inquiries made through the Secretariat. He also noted that no invitation had been issued by the Secretary-General or by any other U.N. body, and that no request for visas had been made.

Shortly after the inquiries concerning possible NLF representation in New York became known, the Romanian Permanent Mission to the United Nations asked the Secretary-General to circulate as a U.N. document the NLF program that had been published shortly before the September elections in the Republic of Viet-Nam. The Secretary-General circulated the document under cover of the Romanian request on December 14.

On the same day the U.S. Representative stated:

The document of the National Liberation Front of South Viet-Nam distributed at the request of the Romanian Delegation presents nothing new. It is the political manifesto adopted by the front in mid-August and publicly released September 1. While containing some new verbiage, it reaffirms the NLF's traditional position. We have sought clarification as to whether circulation of this document at the United Nations represents a change in the position of Hanoi or the Front denying U.N. competence to deal with the Viet-Nam problem. We have been reliably informed that it does not.

# General Political Problems

## Peacekeeping

The 22d General Assembly again extended the mandate of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (Committee of 33) and requested it to prepare a study on matters relating to the provision of facilities, personnel, and services for peacekeeping.

This action by the General Assembly followed a year in which no real progress was made by the Committee of 33, at a special General Assembly session in May 1967, or at the regular General Assembly session in the fall of 1967. The continued opposition of the Soviet Union and France to the views of the majority, on such matters as financing and the respective responsibilities and functions of the Security Council and the General Assembly in the peacekeeping field, caused an impasse, preventing any forward movement.

### COMMITTEE OF 33

The 21st General Assembly in December 1966 had requested the Committee of 33 to continue its review of all aspects of peacekeeping and report to the fifth special session of the General Assembly in the spring of 1967. The Committee, organized in two working groups of the whole, met 14 times before the special session. One group studied methods of financing peacekeeping operations and the related question of how the U.N. peacekeeping authority should be interpreted. The other considered peacekeeping "preparations," or how member states might voluntarily make available to the United Nations the

facilities, services, and personnel needed for peacekeeping operations.

### General Discussion and Financing

As in the previous 2 years the Committee considered a number of proposals but could not agree on concrete recommendations. Most members subscribed to the need for strengthening the U.N. peacekeeping capacity but were reluctant to come to grips with the substantive issues dividing the Committee on constitutional, financial, and organizational principles. The impasse meant that peacekeeping activities would continue to be considered and undertaken on a case-by-case basis, depending on the acquiescence of all big powers and the assurance of political and financial backing.

The Soviet position continued to be that the Security Council is the only organ competent to take action for the maintenance or restoration of international peace and security, including questions relating to the creation and utilization of armed forces, the defining of their duties, their numerical composition, who would be in command of operations, the command structure, and questions of financing. The French position remained that any type of action involving military personnel in organized units was one of enforcement and therefore only the Security Council was competent to act, but that in the case of peacekeeping operations which involved only surveillance and observation missions the General Assembly was competent to decide on such operations. The Council would determine methods of financing for operations that it authorized. It should consult those

likely to be concerned before making its decision and might do so by setting up a subsidiary organ, preferably an *ad hoc* committee composed of members of the Council, the interested parties, and others to achieve a geographic balance.

A number of Asian and African representatives supported the view that the General Assembly was vested with considerable residual authority, particularly in situations in which the Security Council failed to act. The Indian and Japanese representatives tried to focus attention at this time on methods of financing operations which might be authorized by the Security Council, leaving aside the question of operations recommended by the Assembly. Several other delegations suggested possibilities for a finance committee responsible jointly to the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, emphasized in the Committee on March 22 the deep and continuing concern of the United States for the future performance by the United Nations of its peacekeeping function. Four basic principles were essential in the U.S. view:

(1) The U.N. capacity to deploy peacekeeping forces promptly in an emergency must be preserved.

(2) Reliable and equitable financial arrangements to support that capacity must be agreed upon and faithfully implemented.

(3) The essential role of the Secretary-General as executive head of the Organization must be respected in peacekeeping and other operations.

(4) No one nation should be able to veto a peacekeeping operation properly initiated by an appropriate U.N. organ.

In the Charter, the Security Council's responsibility was described not as exclusive but as primary. The General Assembly's power to make recommendations was made clear in

articles 10, 11, 12, and 14. Only the Security Council had the power under the Charter to initiate enforcement action and, in doing so, to issue orders binding on member states; that power was rightly subject to the veto. The General Assembly had no such binding power; it could only recommend. However, the importance of that recommendatory power could be seen from the fact that most U.N. peacekeeping operations involving military forces had been authorized by recommendation. Ambassador Goldberg emphasized that the United States would respond to any initiative designed to ensure the future of the United Nations as a keeper of the peace.

On financing peacekeeping, he emphasized that the United States supported "the principle of collective financing," which should be applied to the extent feasible. He urged the Special Committee to examine the various proposals for a model special scale for financing operations involving heavy expenditure. The United States would be glad to discuss suggestions for the creation of a committee to consider methods of financing peacekeeping, including the French proposal for a committee linked to the Security Council. The United States believed, however, that any such committee should be created by the General Assembly; a possible compromise might be a committee composed of the members of the Security Council but reporting to the General Assembly.

#### **Voluntary Contributions and the U.N. Deficit**

Ambassador Goldberg also raised in the Committee of 33 the failure of certain countries, notably the Soviet Union and France, to deliver their long-expected voluntary contributions to overcome the U.N. deficit. Recalling assurances in 1965 that if the United States would not press for the application of article 19, substantial volun-

tary contributions would be forthcoming, Ambassador Goldberg said:

Now, some have suggested that the United States also should make a voluntary contribution. I need scarcely reiterate to this committee that my country took the initiative in breaking the deadlock over article 19. Now it is for others to take the initiative by doing their part in the interest of U.N. solvency.

I also need scarcely remind the committee that the United States, in addition to paying its assessed share in any case, had long since made large voluntary contributions both to the United Nations Emergency Force and to the Congo operation.

But I again repeat the assurance that I have given before: that once the promised substantial voluntary contributions have been made by those who we have been assured would make such contributions, the United States will not be found wanting . . . .

The French Representative said on March 29 that the "gentlemen's agreement" of 1965 did not imply any commitment on the part of France to make a voluntary contribution, and that all member states were on an equal footing with regard to the appeal for funds. France believed that contributions of the big powers should be "harmonized" with respect to amounts and dates.

On April 12 the Soviet Representative stated that his country would make a contribution, but that the General Assembly's decisions on voluntary contributions applied equally to all states, including the United States.

On May 16 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Finger, reviewed the U.S. position on voluntary contributions and affirmed that it was "very clear that the United States has never considered itself bound by an understanding to make a voluntary contribution." He noted that no country had previously conditioned its own contribution on a U.S. contribution. He concluded by reaffirming Ambassador Goldberg's statement of March 22 (see above).

Expectations of voluntary contributions from the U.S.S.R. and France were again disappointed in 1967. Without these contributions, the U.N. financial position remained precarious and its ability to undertake future peacekeeping operations was seriously weakened.

#### **Preparations and Earmarking**

The Committee discussed at length the importance of improving the readiness of members to make available men, facilities, and services for U.N. peacekeeping. Many delegations supported the idea of a study of the technical aspects of peacekeeping operations of a nonenforcement nature. The Soviet Representative opposed the idea of distinguishing between the needs of peacekeeping and enforcement actions, and insisted that what was needed was for the Security Council to conclude with interested member states the agreements referred to in article 43 of the Charter which defines the procedures and terms on which troops would be provided.

On April 6 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Finger, endorsed the importance of advance preparations. He concurred in the view expressed earlier by the Canadian Representative, that in present political circumstances a permanent U.N. force would be unrealistic, and agreed with him that it would be preferable to concentrate on encouraging member states to earmark forces or police units or services and facilities which could be made available to the United Nations if a request were made and the government concerned agreed. He recalled the U.S. suggestion made in 1965 that since some countries might be unable to assume the burdens of training and equipping units, a program might be organized to train officers and specialized personnel for future peacekeeping operations. Aid to earmark-

ing countries could be made available through the United Nations or directly by other members. He also endorsed the proposal put forward by the Secretary-General in 1964, and since endorsed by a number of member states, for a comprehensive, technical study of the experience gained in past U.N. peacekeeping missions.

In addition to improved preparations by member states, he said, there was also need to strengthen the Secretariat. Peacekeeping required a single executive, the Secretary-General, with the capacity and the latitude to exercise his executive functions. Better advance planning by the Secretariat on how to meet future emergencies would be a prudent step forward, and one constructive measure would be to update the guidelines for U.N. peacekeeping forces.

The U.S. Representative noted renewed interest in possible arrangements under article 43. Any substantive discussion would, of course, he said, be for the Security Council. However, preparations for consent-type peacekeeping and article 43 arrangements, far from being mutually exclusive, might complement each other.

#### **Committee Report**

The Committee of 33 recommended to the fifth special General Assembly that it again appeal to member states for voluntary contributions and renew the mandate of the Committee of 33.

#### **SPECIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION**

The fifth special session of the General Assembly considered peacekeeping on May 22 and 23. Discussion centered on a procedural resolution advocated by the chairman of the Committee of 33, Ambassador Cuevas-

Cancino of Mexico, under which the General Assembly would refer the whole question back to the Committee of 33 for further examination with a request that it report to the next regular Assembly session.

Ambassador Goldberg said on May 22 that although the United States would have preferred substantive action on this question, it acquiesced in the procedural resolution. He pledged the best efforts of the United States to reach agreement. He reaffirmed the U.S. position as stated 2 months earlier in the Committee of 33, emphasizing the interests of both great and small powers in strengthening the U.N. capacities for peace.

Since it became clear that no progress could be made in the Assembly, the procedural resolution was adopted by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 1, with 11 abstentions. This resolution:

(1) renewed the appeal to all members, and in particular to the highly developed countries, to make voluntary contributions to overcome the financial difficulties of the Organization; and

(2) requested the Committee of 33 to continue the review of the whole question of peacekeeping and to study the various suggestions made during the Committee's recent meetings, in particular those relating to methods of financing and to the provision of facilities, services, and personnel for U.N. peacekeeping operations.

#### **22D GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION**

The Committee of 33 met just once before the opening of the 22d General Assembly, and its report to the Assembly stated:

Owing to the preoccupation of the entire membership of the Organization with certain international developments, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping

Operations was unable to undertake the task entrusted to it by the General Assembly. In the circumstances, the Special Committee is of the view that it should continue to carry out its mandate.

The Secretary-General highlighted the question of peacekeeping in the Introduction to his Annual Report to the General Assembly. He noted with regret that the Committee of 33 had failed to arrive at generally accepted conclusions concerning either the methods of financing or matters relating to facilities, services, and personnel that members might voluntarily provide for peacekeeping. He suggested that a study be undertaken, either by a specially appointed committee or by the Secretary-General, of such questions as the standardization of training and equipment for standby forces, the relationship of the United Nations to governments providing such forces, and the constitutional and financial aspects of employing them.

The 22d General Assembly referred the agenda item, "Comprehensive review of the whole question of peacekeeping operations in all their aspects" to its Special Political Committee which considered the item from November 24 to December 8.

#### **U.S. Position**

The U.S. position was presented on November 28 by Congressman L. H. Fountain, who said that if precise and agreed "principles" could not be arrived at to govern peacekeeping operations, there was all the more need to persevere in efforts to meet the practical requirements. He stressed three such requirements.

First, reliable and equitable methods of financing peacekeeping operations must be devised. The United States advocated a renewed effort to develop a fair-shares scale for opera-

tions involving heavy expenditures, and believed that in applying the special scale the larger contributors must be assured an appropriate voice in financing decisions.

Second, the Secretary-General must have the latitude he needs to administer operations effectively.

Third, the necessary forces and facilities must be ready in event of emergency.

The U.S. Representative supported the Secretary-General's suggestion for a study of standby forces. He also recommended that the United Nations explore the possibility of arrangements whereby a suitable waiting period, during which consultations could take place, would elapse between the time host country consent is withdrawn and the time the U.N. peacekeepers depart. He said the United States was prepared to aid and cooperate in strengthening peacekeeping in two ways: by cooperating "in practical plans to aid countries which earmark troop contingents for U.N. peacekeeping," and by considering various actions that the United States might take "to assist in sustaining U.N. peacekeepers and to assure that an operation will not be hampered for lack of ready logistical support." He emphasized that the United Nations must proceed from peacekeeping, which stops the fighting, to peacemaking: the development of procedures for coping with underlying causes of conflict and achieving a settlement.

#### **Assembly Action**

Soundings were taken among members on a resolution picking up the Secretary-General's suggestion, but negative reactions from the U.S.S.R. and France led those interested in the matter to drop it.

Agreement was eventually reached



on a compromise resolution under which the Committee of 33 would be asked to continue its work, including the preparation of a study on matters related to facilities, services, and personnel that member states might provide for U.N. peacekeeping operations, and to report to the 23d General Assembly. This compromise was the result of extended negotiations during which four competing draft resolutions were considered.

A four-power draft, sponsored by Brazil, Costa Rica, Malta, and the United States, requested the Secretary-General to prepare a study on questions relating to the provision of forces for peacekeeping operations and arrangements for their use. A nine-power draft renewed the Irish proposal of the previous year for apportioning expenses of peacekeeping operations on the basis of a special scale of assessment. A three-power draft, sponsored by Denmark, Finland, and Sweden, simply requested the Committee of 33 to carry on its mandate. A six-power draft, sponsored by India, Mali, Singapore, the U.A.R., Yugoslavia, and Zambia, in addition to requesting the Committee of 33 to carry on its work, recommended that the Military Staff Committee undertake the study on peacekeeping preparations, but limited the study to facilities, services, and personnel that might be provided to the Security Council. None of these drafts was brought to a vote.

The Brazilian Representative stated on behalf of the sponsors of the four-power draft that they would not press it to a vote since the compromise resolution (an amended form of the six-power draft) incorporated the central idea of the four-power draft, and it was understood that documentation for the study would be prepared by the Secretariat.

The compromise resolution was adopted in committee on December 8 by a vote of 75 (U.S.) to 1, with 8 abstentions, and approved in plenary on December 13 by a vote of 96 (U.S.) to 1, with 5 abstentions.

## U.N. Membership

### ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS

There was only one applicant for U.N. membership in 1967—the People's Republic of Southern Yemen which, in agreement with the United Kingdom, achieved independence on November 30, and on the same day applied for U.N. membership. The Security Council considered this application on December 12.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, welcomed the application and said that the emergence of Southern Yemen as an independent state was:

... a credit to all concerned—to the people and leaders of the new state, who have shown their courage and their determination to be free; to the United Nations, which has concerned itself with the problems of this new state; and also to the United Kingdom, whose statesmanship has contributed much to this historic development.

Ambassador Goldberg observed:

Like every independent state, Southern Yemen will face many problems in the years ahead. But it has a most substantial asset, among others, which it brings and will bring to the solution of these problems. Now, that most substantial asset is the people of the country. No asset can be greater than this.

The Council unanimously recommended to the General Assembly that the new republic be admitted. On De-

ember 14 the Assembly acted by acclamation and admitted the People's Republic of Southern Yemen as the 123d member of the United Nations.

#### PROBLEM OF VERY SMALL NEW STATES

In the Introduction to his 1967 Annual Report on the Work of the Organization, the Secretary-General referred, as he had in his 1965 report, to the problem of "micro-States." He defined these states as "entities which are exceptionally small in area, population and human and economic resources, and which are now emerging as independent States." He noted that under article 4 of the U.N. Charter an applicant for admission to the United Nations must, in the judgment of the Organization, be "able and willing" to carry out the obligations of the Charter; he also observed that "it appears desirable that a distinction be made between the right to independence and the question of full membership in the United Nations." Pointing out that full membership "may, on the one hand, impose obligations which are too onerous for the 'micro-States' and, on the other hand, may lead to a weakening of the United Nations itself," the Secretary-General suggested that it might be "opportune for the competent organs to undertake a thorough and comprehensive study of the criteria for membership in the United Nations, with a view to laying down the necessary limitations on full membership while also defining other forms of association which would benefit both the 'micro-States' and the United Nations."

Although the Secretary-General recognized the political difficulties, he stressed that such action would be "very much in the interests both of the United Nations and of the 'micro-States' themselves." He referred to the

fact that the League of Nations, although unable to arrive at a definition of exact criteria, had prevented the entry of "Lilliputian" states. He also noted that some small states have themselves recognized that "their best interests" lay "in restricting themselves to membership in certain specialized agencies, so that they can benefit fully from the United Nations system in advancing their economic and social development without having to assume the heavy financial and other responsibilities involved in United Nations membership."

As possible forms of association short of full membership the Secretary-General also mentioned access to the International Court of Justice, membership in the pertinent U.N. regional economic commissions, and the establishment of observer missions both at U.N. Headquarters and at the U.N. Office in Geneva.

On December 13, the U.S. Representative, in a letter to the President of the Security Council, referred to the Secretary-General's suggestion and noted that the United States and other members had previously raised this matter in the Security Council. He recalled the existence of the Security Council's Committee on Membership which, although inactive for some time, is a standing committee of the Council on which all members are represented.

He went on to say, "The United States believes that the Security Council could usefully and appropriately seek the assistance and advice of this Committee in examining the issues outlined by the Secretary-General." He requested that the President of the Council "consult the members about the possibility of reconvening the Committee for such a purpose."

There were no reactions to the U.S. proposal from other Council members by the end of the year.

# Chinese Representation

During 1967 some countries that recognized Communist China again attempted in the General Assembly to expel the representatives of the Republic of China and to seat those of Communist China. A majority of U.N. members, including the United States, defeated these attempts and the Assembly once again agreed that the representatives of the Republic of China were fully entitled to their seats.

The representatives of the Republic of China also continued to sit throughout 1967 in all U.N. sub-bodies and related agencies of which China was a member.

## SPECIAL SESSIONS

At both the fifth special session in the spring and the fifth emergency special session in the summer of 1967 the General Assembly appointed a Credentials Committee consisting of the same nine members that had served during the 21st session in 1966. In both sessions the Committee reported that the Soviet Union had submitted a draft resolution that would have had the Committee consider invalid the credentials of the representatives of the Republic of China since, the U.S.S.R. contended, the People's Republic of China was the only government legally entitled to represent the Chinese people. Other committee members objected to this resolution; for example, Japan noted that the Assembly at its 21st session had already rejected a proposal to unseat the representatives of the Republic of China. The U.S. Representative endorsed the Japanese view, and the Committee rejected the Soviet proposal both times by a vote of 3 to 5 (U.S.), with 1 abstention. The Assembly sub-

sequently approved the Credentials Committee reports.

## 22D REGULAR SESSION

The question of Chinese representation was debated again at the 22d session of the General Assembly. On September 8, 1967, nine nations (Albania, Algeria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Mali, Romania, and Syria) requested the inclusion of an additional item on the Assembly's agenda entitled "Restoration of the Lawful Rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations." In the explanatory memorandum accompanying the request, which was virtually identical to last year's, the sponsoring nations charged that the United States opposed the restoration of Communist China's rights under the "fallacious pretext" that the latter rejected all international cooperation and would be an enemy of countries not sharing its ideology. They reiterated the claim that Communist China "earnestly" desired peace and peaceful coexistence. As last year, they spoke of the myth of the Republic of China, called for the recognition of the Chinese Communists, and stated that this implied the immediate expulsion of "the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek's clique."

The United States did not oppose in the General Committee the inscription of this item, but Ambassador Goldberg indicated his doubts about the utility of another debate on the question and stated that he was confident the right of the Republic of China to its proper role in the United Nations would be upheld. The Committee, as in the past, recommended that the item be allocated to the plenary for consideration, and on September 23 the Assembly accepted this recommendation without discussion.

The Assembly debated the question of Chinese representation between November 20 and 28. Earlier, on October 27, Albania, Algeria, Cambodia, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Pakistan, Romania, and Syria (and later the Sudan) introduced a draft resolution virtually identical with the one rejected by the Assembly in 1966. This draft resolution (hereafter referred to as the 12-power draft) would have had the Assembly recognize the representatives of Communist China as "the only lawful representatives of China to the United Nations," and would have called on the Assembly therefore to "restore" membership rights to the People's Republic of China and expel the "representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the place which they unlawfully occupy at the United Nations and in all the organizations related to it."

Also on October 27 Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Gabon, Japan, Malagasy Republic, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Philippines, Thailand, Togo, and the United States submitted a draft resolution (later co-sponsored by Italy), virtually identical with the one adopted by the Assembly in 1966, that reaffirmed the validity of the Assembly's decision at its 16th session that any proposal to change the representation of China is an important question under article 18 of the U.N. Charter and requires a two-thirds majority for adoption.

On November 20 Belgium, Chile, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands introduced a third draft resolution that proposed the establishment of a committee to study the Chinese representation question. This proposal, virtually identical with one that had been defeated the previous year, noted that a solution of the Chinese representation problem "which accords with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the aim

of universality would further the purposes of the United Nations and strengthen its ability to maintain international peace and security," but that the complexities of the question required "the most searching consideration in order to pave the way to an appropriate solution, taking into account the existing situation and the political realities of the area." Under this draft, therefore, the Assembly would establish a committee to study the situation and make recommendations to the 23d session on "an equitable and practical solution to the question of the representation of China in the United Nations in keeping with the principles and purposes of the Charter."

#### **U.S. Position**

On November 21 the U.S. Representative, Congressman L. H. Fountain, stated that the U.S. cosponsorship of the "important question" draft resolution stemmed, as in the past, "from a profound conviction that any proposal to change the representation of China in this organization is a question of momentous political importance and that such a proposal, consequently, can only be decided in conformity with the two-thirds rule." He stressed that this was not a new position, but one the Assembly had endorsed in 1961, 1965, and 1966.

Turning to the 12-power draft resolution, the U.S. Representative pointed out:

Under this resolution the Republic of China—a founding member of the United Nations, a member in good standing whose rights in this organization are clear, and against whose conduct as a member no serious complaint has ever been made—would be thrown out bag and baggage.

He went on to describe the economic and diplomatic progress of the Republic of China, praising its unswerv-

ing dedication to the principles of the U.N. Charter and its contribution to the work of the organization.

Examining the second part of the 12-power draft which would admit to U.N. membership the People's Republic of China, the U.S. Representative described Communist China's aggressive policies and its contempt for normal diplomatic usage. He declared that the Peking regime's conduct was hardly in accord with the principles of the U.N. Charter and asked delegates "to judge for themselves whether the presence in the United Nations of this rigidly fanatical and violence-prone regime would increase the probability of the solution of any international problem." He emphasized that the United States does not rejoice in Peking's hostility, nor has it sought to provoke it. On the contrary, efforts have been made to find points of common interest. But, he said, these endeavors thus far have been almost totally unavailing.

Finally, the U.S. Representative reviewed the history of Communist China's attitudes toward the United Nations, noting that the Chinese Communists had insisted upon drastic changes in the Charter and membership of the United Nations as a prerequisite to their acceptance of membership. For example, the U.S. Representative said, the Peking regime would refuse to sit in the United Nations until the Republic of China had been expelled, and, in obedience to this demand, the 12-power resolution proposed precisely such a monumentally unjust stipulation. In concluding he said:

The issue raised here is not the reconciliation of mainland China with the world. That event lies outside our present control, for the key to it is a change of heart and a new spirit in Peking. Unpromising though the prospects may now

appear, my country, together with many others, wholeheartedly hopes for a change.

#### Assembly Action

On November 21 the Australian Representative moved that the Assembly vote on the "important question" draft resolution before the 12-power proposal, since this would be a more logical order for their consideration. After nine plenary meetings, during which 48 nations spoke, the Assembly put all the measures to a vote on November 28. The Australian motion for priority came first and was adopted by a vote of 67 (U.S.) to 41, with 12 abstentions. The "important question" resolution was then adopted by a vote of 69 to 48, with 4 abstentions.

Those voting in favor were:

Argentina	Japan
Australia	Jordan
Belgium	Laos
Bolivia	Lebanon
Botswana	Lesotho
Brazil	Liberia
Cameroon	Libya
Canada	Luxembourg
Central African Republic	Malagasy Republic
Chad	Malawi
Chile	Malaysia
China	Maldives Islands
Colombia	Malta
Congo (Kinshasa)	Mexico
Costa Rica	Netherlands
Cyprus	New Zealand
Dahomey	Nicaragua
Dominican Republic	Niger
El Salvador	Panama
Gabon	Paraguay
The Gambia	Peru
Greece	Philippines
Guatemala	Rwanda
Guyana	Sierra Leone
Haiti	South Africa
Honduras	Spain
Iceland	Thailand
Indonesia	Togo
Iran	Trinidad and Tobago
Ireland	Turkey
Israel	United Kingdom
Italy	United States
Ivory Coast	Upper Volta
Jamaica	Uruguay
	Venezuela

Those opposed were:

Afghanistan	Mauritania
Albania	Mongolia
Algeria	Morocco
Bulgaria	Nepal
Burma	Nigeria
Burundi	Norway
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Pakistan
Cambodia	Poland
Ceylon	Romania
Congo	Senegal
(Brazzaville)	Singapore
Cuba	Somalia
Czechoslovakia	Sudan
Denmark	Sweden
Ethiopia	Syria
Finland	Tanzania
France	Tunisia
Ghana	Uganda
Guinea	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Hungary	U.S.S.R.
India	U.A.R.
Iraq	Yemen
Kenya	Yugoslavia
Kuwait	Zambia
Mali	

Those abstaining were:

Austria	Ecuador
Barbados	Portugal

The 12-power resolution calling for the admission of Communist China and the expulsion of Nationalist China was then defeated 45 to 58, with 17 absentions.

Those voting in favor were the same as those that opposed the "important question" resolution plus the United Kingdom and Indonesia but without Ghana, Kuwait, Morocco, Singapore, and Tunisia. These five, together with Austria, Canada, Cyprus, Ecuador, Iran, Jamaica, Lebanon, Libya, Maldive Islands, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Trinidad and Tobago abstained. (On November 30 the Secretary-General circulated a note from the Permanent Representative of Ecuador dated November 28 noting that, during the mechanical voting, the Ecuadorean Representative had mistakenly abstained instead of voting against the 12-power draft.)

Those opposed were:

Argentina	Barbados
Australia	Belgium

Bolivia	Ivory Coast
Botswana	Japan
Brazil	Jordan
Cameroon	Lesotho
Central African Republic	Liberia
Chad	Luxembourg
Chile	Malagasy Republic
China	Malawi
Colombia	Malaysia
Congo	Malta
(Kinshasa)	Mexico
Costa Rica	New Zealand
Dahomey	Nicaragua
Dominican Republic	Niger
El Salvador	Panama
Gabon	Paraguay
The Gambia	Peru
Greece	Philippines
Guatemala	Rwanda
Guyana	Sierra Leone
Haiti	South Africa
Honduras	Spain
Iceland	Thailand
Ireland	Togo
Israel	Turkey
Italy	United States
	Upper Volta
	Uruguay
	Venezuela

Then, as it had at the 21st session, Syria moved that the important question procedure be applied to the 5-power "study committee" draft resolution. Though the Italian Representative argued that the 5-power proposal would only establish a committee and was therefore purely procedural, the Syrian motion was adopted by a vote of 36 to 31 (U.S.), with 53 abstentions (U.S.S.R.). The 5-power draft was then defeated by a vote of 32 to 57, with 30 abstentions.

Those voting in favor were:

Barbados	Laos
Belgium	Lebanon
Brazil	Libya
Canada	Luxembourg
Chile	Malta
Colombia	Mexico
Costa Rica	Morocco
Cyprus	Netherlands
The Gambia	New Zealand
Guatemala	Sierra Leone
Iceland	Spain
Ireland	Tunisia
Israel	Turkey
Italy	United States
Jamaica	Uruguay
Japan	Venezuela

Those opposed were:

Afghanistan	Ivory Coast
Albania	Jordan
Algeria	Lesotho
Australia	Malawi
Bulgaria	Mali
Burma	Mauritania
Burundi	Mongolia
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Nepal
Cambodia	Niger
Central African Republic	Norway
Ceylon	Pakistan
Chad	Paraguay
China	Philippines
Congo	Poland
(Brazzaville)	Romania
Congo	Rwanda
(Kinshasa)	Senegal
Cuba	Singapore
Czechoslovakia	South Africa
Dahomey	Sudan
Denmark	Sweden
Ethiopia	Syria
Finland	Tanzania
France	Thailand
Guinea	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Honduras	U.S.S.R.
Hungary	U.A.R.
India	Upper Volta
Iraq	Yemen
	Yugoslavia

Those abstaining were:

Argentina	Kuwait
Austria	Liberia
Bolivia	Malagasy Republic
Botswana	Malaysia
Cameroon	Maldive Islands
Dominican Republic	Nicaragua
Ecuador	Nigeria
El Salvador	Panama
Gabon	Peru
Ghana	Portugal
Greece	Togo
Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago
Haiti	
Indonesia	Uganda
Iran	United Kingdom
Kenya	

The Soviet Union raised the question of Chinese Representation again in the Assembly's Credentials Committee on December 13, introducing a motion, as in previous years, demanding that the Committee "... consider invalid the credentials of persons calling themselves the Representatives of the Republic of China." The United States, Japan, Malagasy Re-

public, Mexico, and Paraguay all briefly stated their objections to this motion, while the U.S.S.R., Ceylon, and Mali spoke in favor of it. The motion was defeated 3 to 5, with Ireland abstaining. The Committee then accepted the credentials of all the representatives to the 22d General Assembly, with only the U.S.S.R. and Mali abstaining. The plenary adopted the report of the Credentials Committee on December 16 by a vote of 67 (U.S.) to 0, with 20 abstentions.

## Charter Amendment

On May 16 the President ratified an amendment to the U.N. Charter designed to correct an oversight when the amendments enlarging the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council were adopted by the General Assembly in 1963. At that time, article 27 of the Charter was amended to raise from seven to nine the number of affirmative votes required for any Security Council decision but inadvertently no conforming change was made in article 109 (1) concerning the convening of a Charter review conference. With the coming into effect of the 1963 amendments on August 31, 1965, article 109, which provides that a Charter review conference can be called by the vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and "of any seven members of the Security Council," was no longer consistent with article 27. Therefore the General Assembly on December 20, 1965, unanimously adopted a resolution to amend article 109 by raising the voting requirement for the Security Council under it from seven to nine.

The President transmitted this amendment to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification on January 23, 1967. The Senate acted

favorably on his request on May 8, and following its signature by the President, the U.S. ratification was deposited with the United Nations on May 31. Amendments of the U.N. Charter come into effect when they have been ratified by two-thirds of the U.N. members, including the five permanent members of the Security Council. By the end of 1967, 75 ratifications, including those of all the permanent members of the Council, had been deposited with the United Nations. Only seven more were required to bring the amendment into force.<sup>1</sup>

## Charter Review

On December 5 the General Assembly adopted by a vote of 85 to 0, with 9 abstentions, the resolution recommended by its Committee on Arrangements for a conference to review the Charter. This resolution keeps the Committee in being but does not specify when it is to report again.

The Committee on Arrangements was established by the 10th General Assembly to make recommendations on the time, place, organization, and procedures of a Charter review conference. The question of holding such a conference was before the 10th session under article 109 (3) of the U.N. Charter. The Assembly decided in principle that such a conference should be held "at an appropriate time" and established a committee of the whole to keep the question of timing under review.

This Committee reported to the Assembly in 1957, 1959, 1961, 1962,

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<sup>1</sup>The amendment entered into force for all members of the United Nations on June 12, 1968.

1963, 1965, and again in 1967, simply recommending on each occasion that it be kept in being and, until 1967, that it be requested to report again. These recommendations have all been accepted by the Assembly without further discussion. The meetings of the Committee, except for that in 1963 which was devoted almost entirely to the problem of Council enlargement, have been brief and perfunctory, since it has been generally recognized that the "auspicious international circumstances" referred to in the 10th General Assembly's resolution do not prevail.

At the Committee's most recent meeting on September 11-12, only the Soviet Union spoke on the question of the desirability of holding a conference, taking the position that shortcomings of the United Nations were due not to inadequacies of the present Charter but to the policies of "certain states" that violate the Charter. Therefore, in the Soviet view, there was no justification for a review of the Charter. The Committee adopted its recommendation to the Assembly by a vote of 43 to 0, with 7 abstentions. The resolution includes no stipulation with respect to future Committee reports to the General Assembly, but the report of its Rapporteur makes it clear that any member may ask the Secretary-General to convene the Committee and that the latter would do so if his consultations with members proved this desirable.

The United States has consistently taken the position that it is prepared to support the convening of a review conference whenever a substantial majority of members consider that the "appropriate time" has arrived, but it does not itself believe that such a conference can be profitably held in foreseeable circumstances. Most other members apparently share this view.



## Installation of Mechanical Means of Voting

On December 16 the General Assembly took note of the Secretary-General's report on the third year of successful employment of the mechanical voting system, which had been installed in the Assembly hall on an experimental basis at the recommendation of the 18th General Assembly. The Secretary-General said that he would present to the 23d General Assembly cost estimates for installation of mechanical voting equipment in one or more committee rooms.

The General Assembly adopted by

acclamation, also on December 16, a resolution recommended by the Sixth Committee that rules 89 and 128 of the Assembly's rules of procedure be amended to take full advantage of mechanical means of voting on roll-call votes. Under the amended rules, a "non-recorded" vote will replace a vote by show of hands when mechanical means of voting are used by the Assembly or by committees using the Assembly hall. In the same circumstances a "recorded vote" will replace the traditional roll-call vote. Any representative may request a recorded vote, but names of delegations will not be called individually as was the case under the previous roll-call procedure unless specifically requested by a representative.

*Cooperation in the  
Economic, Social,  
Scientific, and  
Human Rights  
Fields*

*Part Two*

**D**URING 1967 THE U.N. FAMILY of organizations demonstrated increasing ability to deal with the economic, social, and technological aspects of organizing a stable and prosperous world order. Multilateral programs of aid, trade, and investment helped accelerate economic growth and promote economic and social welfare. These programs were designed to implement major international goals in the struggle for a better life: more food production, assistance in voluntary family planning, spread of education, training of skilled manpower, development of transport and communications, fuller use of natural resources, establishment of modern industry, and increased application of science and technology. Because of growing demands on the various international organizations, efforts to improve their effectiveness and efficiency received continuing attention.

Progress toward the goals of the U.N. Development Decade was more gradual than had been hoped. Nonetheless, there were solid grounds for encouragement, both in the economic performance of some of the developing countries and in the better understanding of the interrelationship of economic and social developments.

The UNDP continued to demonstrate that multilateral technical assistance works efficiently and produces the cooperation of recipients. Nearly \$175 million was pledged to the UNDP during 1967 to finance its technical assistance and preinvestment activities for the developing countries.

To help cover project costs, recipient countries added counterpart contributions from their own resources in a ratio of \$3 for every \$2 contributed by UNDP. As the need for external capital for development mounted, there were increasing demands for new international commitments to meet the need. However, donor countries, including the United States, withheld support from the new U.N. Capital Development Fund since it was felt that its purposes—making long-term low interest loans and grants for capital development in the less developed countries—are better and more efficiently met by existing international lending institutions, such as the World Bank group of organizations and the regional development banks in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Largely in response to U.S. initiative, three key areas of economic and social welfare engaged the attention of U.N. agencies—population, food, and education. Family planning came to be seen not only as a means of overcoming economic difficulties, but as a prerequisite to social and human progress in many societies and as an individual “human right.” During the year all the necessary groundwork was completed for U.N. bodies to authorize action in this field. The emphasis remained on responding to government requests for assistance in establishing programs in family planning. The Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, adopted by the 22d General Assembly, included a call

for educational information on this subject.

Increasing the world's food supply to meet the requirements of an expanding world population was another major focus of U.N. attention. The successful Kennedy Round negotiation of a Food Grains Agreement—under which donor countries will make available 4.5 million metric tons of grain annually as food aid to deficit countries—should help assure sufficient grain while the food-deficit countries work to increase their own production. On the qualitative side, the seriousness of the “protein gap” was dramatized in a special study by the U.N. Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology. The study, which was endorsed by ECOSOC and the General Assembly, recommended actions to increase production and use of edible protein. On the institutional side, the first steps were taken toward a basic reorganization of the FAO to increase the effectiveness of its field programs.

While agricultural production will for some time to come account for the largest proportion of the national income of the developing countries, there is a growing awareness of the crucial role of a modern industrial sector in the process of economic development. The Industrial Development Board, the governing body of the newly established UNIDO, took the first steps in its long-term task of assisting the industrialization of the less developed countries. Toward the end of the year an International Symposium on Industrial Development, convened under UNIDO auspices, brought together representatives of 78 countries to exchange information and experience on problems in the field of industrialization.

Lack of education is the single greatest bottleneck to the productive use by less developed countries of their human resources. This consideration prompted the United States to propose that the United Nations proclaim an International Education Year for reviewing educational goals

and strategies. The General Assembly agreed that 1970 be provisionally so designated.

The potential contribution of expanding international trade both to world economic growth generally and to the economic development of the developing countries continued to occupy both the GATT and UNCTAD. The Sixth Round of Tariff Negotiations under the GATT—the “Kennedy Round”—ended successfully on June 30. This was the most ambitious attempt ever made to reduce tariff barriers globally and on a reciprocal basis, with tariff concessions covering about \$40 billion of world trade. A noteworthy development in U.S. trade policy relating to the work of UNCTAD occurred during 1967 when the United States indicated at the meeting of American chiefs of state at Punta del Este that it would be prepared to explore the possibilities of a temporary, generalized system of trade preferences for the exports of the less developed countries in order to stimulate their economic growth. Such preferences have been urged by the UNCTAD Secretary General.

In the field of science and technology for economic progress, a notable development was the adoption by the Fifth World Meteorological Congress in April of the detailed World Weather Watch program. Using the most modern scientific and technological advances such as weather satellites and computer ground stations, the “weather watch” is already furnishing improved meteorological services with attendant economic benefits for agriculture, commerce, and industry.

The economic potential of the deep oceans and ocean floor to serve the interest of mankind and the possibility of reserving these for peaceful purposes were important subjects for the United Nations. Although the General Assembly was not prepared to act at this stage on an American proposal to establish a standing Committee on the Oceans to assist it in dealing with these matters, it did appoint an *Ad*

*Hoc* Committee to study the scope and various aspects of these questions (see p. 17). At the same time, work began on surveys of marine knowledge, techniques, and resources that had been requested by ECOSOC and the General Assembly.

New opportunities were predicted for peaceful uses of atomic energy, and the General Assembly decided to convene in 1970 or 1971 a fourth conference on this subject to focus on accelerating the practical application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

In fostering human rights the United Nations continued to work on developing standards to promote religious tolerance and women's rights. In this respect, the year 1967 was a

milestone in U.S. national policy: the Senate unanimously consented to the ratification of the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices similar to Slavery. The Convention is the first U.N. convention in the field of human rights that the United States has ratified. In addition, to mark the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United States joined other members of the United Nations in designating 1968 as Human Rights Year.

Finally, in 1967, the United States became a party to the U.N. Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, an important step forward in the international control of narcotics.

## U.N. Development Decade

During 1967 the United Nations took further steps toward launching a second development decade to cover the 1970's. As the result of a U.S. initiative, the 16th General Assembly had designated the 1960's as the U.N. Development Decade. Its basic objective was:

... to mobilize and to sustain support for the measures required on the part of both developed and developing countries to accelerate progress towards self-sustaining growth of the economy of the individual nations and their social advancement so as to attain in each underdeveloped country a substantial increase in the rate of growth, with each country setting its own target, taking as the objective a minimum annual rate of growth of aggregate national income of 5 per cent at the end of the Decade . . . .

In addition, the Assembly established a target for international assistance to the less developed countries of "approximately 1 per cent of the combined national income of the advanced countries." Certain other targets and goals were subsequently elaborated

by the U.N. Secretary-General and ECOSOC.

Although to date it has not proved possible to achieve the goals of the U.N. Development Decade, the concept has been widely recognized as a useful one, giving focus and direction to the work of the United Nations and its related agencies. A vast majority of U.N. members appear to support proclaiming, at an appropriate time, the 1970's as a second development decade.

## Committee for Development Planning

The Committee for Development Planning, an expert committee of ECOSOC, considered the question of the framework and content of a second development decade during its 1967 session. The Committee suggested that

the United Nations adopt a charter for the decade recognizing the common interests of the nations of the world in securing a more rapid advance in the income and welfare of the developing nations, and including pledges by both developed and developing countries. The Committee further proposed the adoption of a number of quantitative targets, not only for per capita gross national product, in developing countries, but also for per capita food consumption, standards of health and education, and employment. A noteworthy feature of the Committee's report was its recommendation that "in those countries where the rate of population growth is excessive, these pledges might also relate to better facilities for family planning." Finally, the Committee recommended that there be provision for suitable international arrangements to survey progress annually.

## **ECOSOC Consideration**

In August, during its 43d session, ECOSOC requested the Secretary-General to continue the preparatory

work "for concerted international action for the period after the present Development Decade," and to submit a report on the feasibility and advisability of convening a meeting of competent specialists on economic development to review past experience and possibilities of future action.

## **General Assembly Action**

In a resolution adopted unanimously December 13, the 22d General Assembly also requested the Secretary-General to continue preparations for the next decade. Specifically, it asked the Secretary-General to incorporate in the preliminary framework of an international development strategy for the 1970's suggestions on appropriate measures that international organizations and individual member countries might consider taking to further the economic development of the less developed countries. The Assembly also decided that in 1968 it would consider procedures for formally proclaiming a second development decade and approving a program of action.

## **International Education Year**

At an international conference on the "World Crisis in Education" held at Williamsburg, Virginia, in October, President Johnson suggested calling upon the United Nations to set a target time—an International Education Year—for reviewing goals and planning progress. Pursuant to this suggestion the Conference proposed that 1970 should be designated as the International Education Year to draw attention to the long-term importance of education in the balanced development and modernization of the world.

At the 22d General Assembly, during the Second Committee consideration of the U.N. Development Decade, the United States on December 7 introduced a draft resolution calling for an International Education Year. In introducing the proposed resolution, which was ultimately cosponsored by 24 states, Ambassador Goldberg said:

Without education, a nation cannot properly heal the sick, feed the hungry, or house the homeless. And—equally obviously—sick, hungry, and homeless children cannot be educated. Close co-

operation between educators and developers is thus essential to the success of national development programs on which the future of humanity itself largely depends.

... the values of education are as many-sided and many-faceted as human nature. True education illuminates the mind and the soul of the individual and imparts meaning and inspiration to his life. It is essential to a free, just, and democratic society. It nourishes the arts and sciences. It builds understanding, toleration, and friendship among all groups and creeds and nationalities. It is a messenger of peace on earth.

On December 8 the Second Committee approved the draft resolution by a vote of 76 to 0, with 6 abstentions, and on December 13 the General Assembly adopted it by a vote of 102 to 0, with 1 abstention. In the preambular paragraphs of the resolution the General Assembly recognized the urgent need for a more effective mobilization of efforts in education and training as an essential element of a successful strategy of international

development. It also recognized the fundamental importance of education as a means of widening man's horizons, improving mutual understanding, and strengthening international peace.

Under its operative paragraphs the General Assembly decided to observe an International Education Year and provisionally designated 1970 for this purpose, subject to review at the 24th session of the Assembly. It requested the Secretary-General to consult with UNESCO and other interested specialized agencies in preparing a program of activities for International Education Year to be undertaken or initiated by member states, by the United Nations and the specialized agencies—particularly UNESCO—and by other interested intergovernmental bodies. The Secretary-General was requested to submit a progress report to the General Assembly at its 23d session.

# Economic Cooperation

## Economic Planning and Projections

The ECOSOC Committee for Development Planning, under the chairmanship of Jan Tinbergen of the Netherlands, held its second session at ECLA headquarters in Santiago, Chile, April 10–20. The Committee is composed of 18 experts serving in their personal capacity and includes Max F. Millikan, a U.S. citizen.

In addition to its work concerned with the Development Decade (see p. 81), the Committee gave particular attention to planning and plan implementation in Latin America. In this connection it reviewed the work of planning agencies in 20 Latin Ameri-

can countries, attempting to identify deficiencies of public administration, gaps in content of plans, defects in methods and procedures of formulating plans, lack of operational elements, shortcomings in statistical and technical information required for plan implementation, and external obstacles. On the basis of this examination the Committee made a number of recommendations for improvement.

The third session of the Committee is scheduled to be held in Africa during 1968, at which time the Committee will give particular attention to problems of plan implementation in Africa.

The section of the U.N. Secretariat that corresponds to the Committee for Development Planning is the U.N.

Center for Development Planning, Projections, and Policies. During the year the Center prepared the annual U.N. *World Economic Survey*, reports on the international flow of capital and on the economic and social consequences of disarmament, and other studies on trends, problems, and policies relating to economic development and stability, and to the financing of economic development. The Center also participated in a comprehensive interagency study, requested by the 20th General Assembly, of means and policies required for large-scale multilateral food aid.

## Economic Commission for Europe

ECE continued in 1967 to promote economic and technical cooperation among its members (European members of the United Nations, the United States, and the Federal Republic of Germany). The highlight of the year was the 20th anniversary session held at the ministerial level in Geneva, April 12-14. The Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Eugene V. Rostow, led the U.S. delegation to the anniversary session and read a message from President Johnson which said:

I congratulate the Economic Commission for Europe on its twentieth anniversary.

In 1947, Europe was facing the difficulties of economic recovery and political renewal. Europe's recovery has exceeded anything we could have expected. Western Europe has taken important steps toward unification. Eastern Europe is pursuing economic growth with vigor and determination.

Through technical cooperation, improved economic relations, and cultural exchange, we can hasten progress in healing the political and economic divisions of Europe. The Commission is an important forum for member countries with different economic and social systems to consider economic problems of joint concern. By these means, the Commission

can improve the political climate among ECE members.

The Government of the United States pledges its full support in working toward these objectives.

The commemorative meeting and the annual plenary session immediately following were marked by a generally constructive atmosphere. Issues such as Viet-Nam and East German representation, which have been raised by the Communist bloc in the past, intruded very little in the practical work of the meeting. Instead, the members adopted a record number of resolutions calling for increased cooperation in fields ranging from tourism to scientific and technological cooperation, thereby signaling their determination to make greater use of the ECE for East-West cooperation on a multilateral basis.

In its various sectoral committees and working groups, the ECE, with strong U.S. support, continued to make steady, if undramatic, progress. Efforts continued on development of uniform or harmonized procedures or standards related, for example, to labeling, packing, and handling of dangerous and perishable goods; safety standards for motor vehicles; traffic signals; export documents; and containers.

Further exchanges of information and studies took place on such important problems as the development and conservation of water resources, air and water pollution control, housing and urban planning, disposition of industrial wastes, measurement of labor productivity, and the comparability of national income and other economic statistics.

The ECE Senior Economic Advisers carried on in their unique role of bringing together top policy advisers from East and West to study in depth major policy and methodological questions of mutual interest. Meeting in Geneva in October, the Senior Advisers devoted a week to considering the topic, "policies and means of promoting technical progress as a major factor of economic growth."



These meetings are one of the most promising cooperative activities under ECE auspices and the United States plans to continue playing a leading role in them.

Although trade between East and West expanded rapidly in 1967, the ECE Trade Committee remained deadlocked because Eastern European countries were unwilling to proceed with the discussion of other matters until Western countries had joined in recommending that all governments of the ECE region should conclude agreements providing for most-favored-nation treatment. Renewed efforts will be made to resolve this deadlock in the coming year, but prospects for more than limited success remain uncertain.

As a measure of its continuing support, the United States invited the ECE to hold a joint meeting of its working groups on electronic data processing and censuses in Washington in May 1968. The Steel Committee of the ECE was also invited to come to the United States in 1969 for a study tour of the American steel industry.

## **Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East**

ECAFE has 27 members and 2 associate members and is concerned with a region extending from Iran eastward to include Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. The United States participates as one of the nonregional members that joined the Commission when it was established in 1947 to promote the reconstruction and economic development of postwar Asia.

During recent years ECAFE activities have shifted in emphasis from study and research to concrete action, particularly through programs of regional cooperation. Its efforts and initiatives have contributed significantly to the creation of several important

institutions of regional cooperation such as the Mekong Committee, the Asian Development Bank (of which the United States is a charter member), the Asian Industrial Development Council, and the Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning. ECAFE continued its activities during 1967 in the areas of regional harmonization of development plans, trade liberalization and payments arrangements, industrialization and natural resources development, the Asian Highway, regional telecommunications, typhoon damage control, and population problems.

During 1967 the United States participated in all major ECAFE meetings. These included the Commission's 23d plenary session in Tokyo in April and the annual meetings of the standing Committees on Trade, Industry and Natural Resources, and Inland Transport and Communications. Other meetings in which the United States participated dealt with telecommunications, typhoons, electric power, statistics, shipping and ocean freight rates, water codes, hydrology, population and housing censuses, offshore prospecting for minerals, and metals and engineering.

In addition, the United States offered financial support for the second 5-year budget of the Asian Institute for Economic Development and Planning and provided experts and advisers to assist the ECAFE secretariat in various fields such as data processing, inland waterway statistics, transportation economics and engineering, offshore prospecting for minerals, hydrology, fertilizer minerals, and human resources.

The United States continued its active support of the program of the Committee for the Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin and assisted in the financing of several projects involving more than one country. These included:

- (1) continuation of a feasibility study for the proposed Pa Mong multipurpose dam project on the Mekong

mainstream between Thailand and Laos, and studies of three dam projects on the tributaries of the Mekong;

(2) initiation of a feasibility study of Mekong River crossings, ports, cargo handling, and shipbuilding facilities in Laos and Thailand;

(3) a systems analysis project to computerize flow data for the Mekong Basin area; and

(4) production of an atlas of natural and human resources in the Mekong Basin.

## Economic Commission for Latin America

ECLA held its 12th session in Caracas, Venezuela, May 2-13. Economic and social development, the state of planning, regional economic integration, and problems of trade and external financing in the Latin American countries were the major items of discussion. Particular attention was given to the agreements adopted at the meeting of American chiefs of state held at Punta del Este in April, just prior to the Commission's session.

Much of the work of the session took place in two sessional committees, a Committee on Development Planning chaired by the Bolivian Representative, and a Committee on Trade Policy and Integration chaired by the Argentine Representative. In addition, for the first time a working group, chaired by the Honduran Representative, was established to examine in detail ECLA's program of work and priorities. The United States was a member of this working group as well as the two committees.

The Committee on Development Planning examined a Secretariat report on "Planning in Latin America." The Committee included among its members many Latin American planning officials, and it drew upon their extensive practical experience in their

own countries for a wide-ranging, informal, and highly concrete exchange of views.

The Committee on Trade Policy and Integration was the scene of vigorous debate on trade issues looking toward the second session of UNCTAD scheduled for New Delhi, India, in early 1968. There was considerable divergence of view between the members from developed and from developing countries.

The Working Group on Program of Work and Priorities was impressed with the advances that the ECLA secretariat had made in introducing program and performance budgeting. The Commission unanimously adopted a U.S.-introduced resolution, cosponsored by 12 countries, that called for further development of this approach in the future. ECLA became the first regional commission formally to endorse this system of budget preparation. Also upon the recommendation of the Working Group ECLA voted to eliminate 18 projects and consolidate 29 others in order to concentrate its resources on high priority work. The Working Group was particularly pleased to report that the new work recommended to and approved by ECLA had no direct financial implications and would be covered by the existing 1968 budget estimates.

Other ECLA activities during the year included a seminar on the petroleum industry in Latin America, held in Santiago, Chile, February 15-24, which brought together 22 experts from 10 Latin American petroleum exporting and importing countries for a review of policies, investment, prices, reserves, and integration; and a meeting of the Latin American group of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, which discussed, among other matters, means for improving Latin American research institutes.

The ECLA secretariat continued to work closely with the Central Ameri-

can Integration Committee and to prepare studies in the fields of natural resources and energy, economic development, social affairs, trade policy and regional integration, transport, and statistics.

In addition, ECLA continued its sponsorship of the Latin American Demographic Research and Training Center in Santiago, Chile, which has made a number of valuable studies on population growth, and the Joint ECLA-Brazilian National Development Bank Center for Economic Development. The joint FAO/ECLA Agriculture Division continued its work on the use of fertilizers, pesticides, and agricultural machinery.

During the year the ECLA secretariat underwent a change of leadership with the appointment of Carlos Quintana of Mexico as Executive Secretary, replacing José Antonio Mayobre of Venezuela, who resigned to accept a ministerial post in Venezuela.

## Economic Commission for Africa

The United States continued during 1967 to give active support and encouragement to the various programs carried on by ECA. Although the United States is not a member of ECA, it maintains a full-time liaison office in Addis Ababa, attends on invitation the more important ECA meetings as an observer, and provides some technical experts at ECA's request.

The Commission's eighth plenary session, held in February, reviewed ECA's work during 1965-66 and endorsed a continuing emphasis on the promotion of economic cooperation within the subregions of Africa. The work program approved for the 1967-68 biennium reflects this emphasis in its inclusion of practical measures to further subregional cooperation.

*Economic Cooperation*

Among these measures were major conferences held in East and West Africa in the latter part of 1967.

Three other major meetings organized during the year, all held in Addis Ababa, included conferences of industrialists and financiers in January, African statisticians in November, and African planners in December. As part of its regular program the ECA secretariat organized, in most cases on a subregional basis, numerous training courses and seminars in statistics, public administration, and economic planning.

In addition to ECA's plenary session, the United States sent observers to the Conference of Industrialists and Financiers and the Conference of African Planners. The United States provided experts to help ECA prepare for these two conferences and an expert to survey manpower needs in the earth sciences and related fields. Arrangements were also completed to provide an expert consultant in 1968 to assist ECA in developing regional and subregional plans in the field of agriculture.

## U.N. Development Program

### ORGANIZATION

The UNDP is the major source of financing for U.N. economic assistance operations and was formed by merging two programs: the Special Fund (for preinvestment projects), and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance. The preinvestment component helps countries attract investment by inventorying their natural resources; providing educational, applied research, and health facilities; and seeking to improve the administrative capacities of the countries. These projects generally last 3 to 5 years, are large in scope, and frequently include the provision of permanent equipment. The technical

assistance component provides short-term training, fellowships, and advisers, usually without equipment.

A 37-nation Governing Council establishes UNDP policies and approves its programs and operations. Because it is entrusted with the supervision of all U.N. technical cooperation activities, the Governing Council also reviews the program of technical assistance under the U.N. regular budget.

The UNDP "secretariat," headed by an American Administrator, Paul Hoffman, and a British Co-Administrator, David Owen, directs UNDP operations and processes government requests for assistance.

The 1965 General Assembly resolution creating the UNDP also established an Inter-Agency Consultative Board (IACB) to provide consultative participation by the United Nations, specialized agencies, and other U.N.-affiliated organizations that carry out UNDP projects. The IACB is composed of the U.N. Secretary-General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies and the IAEA. Also participating in its meetings are representatives of UNICEF, UNIDO, UNCTAD, and the World Food Program.

#### **STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE**

The UNDP agent in the field is the Resident Representative. He advises his host government on priorities and planning, and serves as the channel through which the government submits its requests for assistance. He is also responsible for coordinating UNDP activities with those of the various specialized agencies, a task both complex and difficult.

Ambassador Arthur Goldschmidt, the U.S. Representative at the fourth session of the Governing Council in June 1967, emphasized the importance of the Resident Representative as "the most closely linked of all UNDP officials with both the very beginning and

the ultimate implementation of UNDP projects," and as the individual most aware of the interrelationship of the various projects. He also pointed out that the new programming procedures for technical assistance (see below) would further increase the Resident Representative's responsibilities.

Recognizing these facts, the 43d session of ECOSOC on August 3 adopted a resolution stressing to member countries the importance to each of them of an effective central coordinating authority for technical assistance activities, and calling attention to the help that the Resident Representative could give by coordinating all economic and social assistance coming from the U.N. system. To this end the resolution affirmed that the Resident Representative should be fully informed of the development activities of all U.N. bodies and of their contacts with the host governments. During the discussion of the resolution, a few countries were opposed to including a reference to coordination with bilateral programs. The United States, however, said that it considered the inclusion of such a reference an important point and that for its part it would continue to coordinate U.S. programs with those of the U.N. family and would support the Resident Representative in the role given him by the ECOSOC resolution.

The United States also welcomed two other developments along the same line—an October 1966 agreement between the UNDP and the FAO that made FAO's country representative a member of the Resident Representative's staff, and a similar agreement in 1967 between the UNDP and UNIDO. These arrangements, which will be applied only in countries where the size of the FAO and UNIDO programs justify them, will improve local coordination by bringing the administration of FAO and UNIDO programs directly into the Resident Representative's office. Some other U.N. system organizations, such as the IAEA, are achieving the same bene-

fits of improved coordination by using the Resident Representative as their local agent.

## FINANCING

The UNDP is financed by voluntary contributions from member states. During 1967 pledges and contributions totaled \$172.2 million. The United States pledged \$70 million, subject to the conditions that U.S. contributions should not exceed 40 percent of total governmental contributions. The U.S. pledge to the UNDP was apportioned as follows: \$24.6 million for the technical assistance component, and \$45.4 million for the preinvestment component.

The UNDP management is working toward a complete integration of the policies and procedures of its two components, and since the merger, the Governing Council has approved plans for gradual changes in the administrative organization of the two. The United States has urged that this administrative integration be completed as soon as possible and has called for both closer financial relationships between the two programs and a more uniform presentation of them.

The fourth session of the UNDP Governing Council, which met in Geneva June 6-23, made two important decisions that will contribute to this integration by bringing the administrative practices of the technical assistance program more into line with those of the preinvestment program. First, the Governing Council will henceforth approve the allocation of funds for technical assistance projects annually rather than biennially. Second, countries will now be able to request technical assistance projects whenever the need arises rather than having to meet a deadline for requests during each program period; it is expected that this will produce more carefully thought-out requests and will provide program flexibility.

In addition, the Administrator will now have the authority to approve

technical assistance projects as they are submitted. The Governing Council will retain overall control through its approval of country allocations of funds and its later review of the Administrator's actions.

## PREINVESTMENT

Preinvestment projects begin when member governments submit specific requests to the UNDP through the Resident Representative. The UNDP considers the project in consultation with the country concerned, the specialized agency that will carry out the project, and the Resident Representative. The IACB advises the UNDP Administrator on the proposal, and then the UNDP submits the final project request to the Governing Council for approval.

During 1967 the Governing Council approved 124 preinvestment projects, raising the total number of such large-scale projects assisted by the UNDP to 778 by December 31. These 778 projects call for UNDP earmarkings of \$770.6 million, as well as \$1,108.1 million in contributions (in cash and kind) from the recipient governments, for a total of \$1,878.7 million.

More than 40 percent of these projects (328) involve surveys of natural resources and/or feasibility studies; 161 are for research in such fields as agriculture, manufacturing, mining, and power; 274 are for training in such fields as forestry, fisheries management, industry, education, public administration, and transport; and 15 are for economic development planning.

The Governing Council approved a fisheries development project for Viet-Nam with a UNDP contribution of \$1.1 million and a government counterpart contribution of \$336,000. In addition, the Netherlands and the United States have augmented this project with funds-in-trust contributions to the FAO which will carry out the project. A U.S. contribution of \$2,012,000 will be used to enlarge the scope of the project to include deep-

water fishing as well as offshore operations. The Netherlands contributed \$220,000 for construction of a fishing vessel.

A total of 176 preinvestment projects had been completed by December 31. Thirty-six of these, which cost the UNDP \$38.5 million, have had associated with them a followup investment of \$1.1 billion.

The U.S. Representative on the UNDP Governing Council has stressed the U.S. interest in close cooperation between the UNDP and the various sources of investment capital and noted that the increasing use of financial advisers attached to individual projects was a good step in that direction. At the June meeting he pointed out the need for still more follow-up investment.

#### **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**

The UNDP technical assistance program for the 1967-68 biennium (approved in November 1966) called for an estimated expenditure of \$110.7 million.

The fields of largest expenditure were in agriculture (25.5 percent), and industry (14.6 percent). Other programs were in public utilities, housing, social welfare, and public administration. As compared to the 1965-66 biennium, projects in agriculture, industry, public utilities, housing, and education increased in number, while those in public health, social welfare, and public administration declined.

This 2-year program provides for 6,179 expert assignments in the field. One special phase of this program sends 149 experts to work directly in government offices of developing countries as administrative members of those governments. This "OPEX" program provides "operating executives" for fields in which developing countries have an insufficient number of trained personnel.

For the 1967-68 biennium the UNDP technical assistance program scheduled 8,773 training fellowships,

primarily for advanced technical training abroad, but also for participation in seminars (often given on a regional basis) and work-study tours.

#### **QUESTION OF PRIORITIES**

The question of assigning priorities has been discussed at numerous sessions of the Governing Council. The subject was again raised at the June session. The U.S.S.R. and East European representatives urged that the UNDP assign special priority to the development of industry in the recipient countries, in particular by investing directly in industrial projects. Some other countries pressed for UNDP stress on agriculture. However, along with the United States, most countries—developing and developed—continued to believe that the choice of priorities and the initiative for requesting assistance should remain as they are, the responsibility of the recipient government alone. The main consideration is that UNDP assistance should be consonant with national development plans and the stated needs of the developing countries.

#### **U.N. REGULAR PROGRAM**

Included in the responsibilities of the UNDP Governing Council is the review of the U.N. Regular Program of Technical Assistance. Financed from the U.N. assessed budget the Regular Program has remained stable since 1962 at the level of \$6.4 million annually, despite mounting pressures to increase it. The United States has consistently opposed raising this ceiling.

At the January 1967 meeting of the Governing Council several delegations suggested that rising costs since 1962 had resulted in a reduced program and asked the U.N. Secretary-General to investigate this situation and report to the June session. At the June meeting, the U.N. Commissioner and Associate Commissioner for Technical Cooperation cited both increased ad-

ministrative costs and increased requests from various U.N. subsidiary bodies for expanded programs as necessitating an increase in the budget level for technical assistance. Sweden followed with a recommendation that the \$6.4 million ceiling be raised to permit a program of the same scope as the 1962 program. Most developing countries, the other Scandinavian countries, Yugoslavia, and Japan supported the idea of an increase but were unable to agree on a figure. Most Western representatives (except the Scandinavians) and the Eastern Europeans opposed an increase. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldschmidt, noted the importance of the Regular Program in providing assistance in regional projects and in such specialized fields as human rights, social welfare, and narcotic drugs, but pointed out that the situation should be viewed in the context of all U.N. assistance programs which have increased greatly since 1962. Although the increase in costs has reduced the number of experts and fellowships available through the Regular Program, total assistance now available through the U.N. system has grown substantially, particularly through the UNDP.

Because the Governing Council was unable to reach agreement on the level of the program, a compromise resulted under which the \$6.4 million level was retained for the 1968 program and a decision on the planning level for the 1969 program was postponed pending consideration of a further Secretariat report at the January 1968 session.

During 1967 \$3.4 million was allocated for country programs and \$3.0 million for regional programs. As in previous years, the Regular Program funds were divided into three sections: one for economic development, social development, and public administration (including industrialization); one for human rights advisory services; and one for narcotic drugs control. Only two sections are guaranteed specific amounts, human rights receiving \$220,000 and narcotic drugs

\$75,000. Within the remaining section, funds were allocated according to country requests based on their own development priorities, just as with the UNDP. The amount programmed for industrial development projects was \$1,053,000. UNIDO served as the executing agency for these industrialization projects.

At its first meeting the Industrial Development Board (IDB), governing body of UNIDO, adopted a resolution calling for a separate section under the Regular Program for industrialization activities. Both at the IDB meeting and later at the 22d General Assembly, the United States argued against this proposal considering that funds currently available to UNIDO were more than adequate for the foreseeable future, and that the UNDP should be the major source of financing for UNIDO activities. Moreover, establishing a separate section would mean that lower priority industrialization projects would take precedence over other types of projects that might have a higher priority in a particular country. The United States was also concerned that a fourth section would increase the pressure for raising the \$6.4 million level.

On October 26 the Second Committee approved by a vote of 56 to 17 (U.S.), with 26 abstentions, a resolution establishing a separate section in the U.N. budget for programs of technical assistance in industrial development. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on December 12 by a vote of 74 to 17 (U.S.), with 20 abstentions. In the same resolution the Assembly also reassigned from the UNDP Governing Council to the IDB the responsibility for the consideration and approval of projects to be financed under this section.

There was no formal proposal to raise the \$6.4 million level, however, and the budget for 1968 as adopted on December 19 provided \$5,113,600 for economic and social development and public administration, and \$991,400 for industrial development.

# U.N. Conference on Trade and Development

In 1967 the UNCTAD Trade and Development Board and its four subsidiary committees (commodities, manufactures, shipping, and invisibles and financing related to trade) each held one regular session—primarily for the purpose of preparing for the second session of the full Conference (UNCTAD II) scheduled for New Delhi, February 1–March 25, 1968. The Board also held a special session to authorize intergovernmental consultations on rubber under UNCTAD auspices (see p. 98). The draft provisional agenda for UNCTAD II which had been drawn up at the fourth session of the Trade and Development Board in September 1966 was reviewed in the course of 1967 by the member states of UNCTAD, the four subsidiary committees of the Board, the U.N. regional commissions, the U.N. Economic and Social Office in Beirut, and finally the fifth session of the Board (August–September 1967). The major significant change resulting from this review was the addition—at U.S. initiative—of an agenda item on the world food problem.

## COMMITTEE MEETINGS

In late February the Committee on Shipping discussed a secretariat report on national and regional machinery for consultation and negotiation between shippers and ship owners, and adopted a resolution which, *inter alia*, invited governments to consider the suggestions contained in the report, with a view to encouraging the establishment of shippers' councils or equivalent bodies and consultation machinery. The Committee also considered a secretariat progress report on the development of ports and on other items of its work program. It also requested the secretariat to prepare an annual review of current

and long-term aspects of maritime transport.

The Committee on Invisibles and Financing Related to Trade met in New York, April 4–19. The Committee considered the flow to the developing countries of both public and private capital; the problems of debt service, suppliers' credits, and tied aid; an expert group's report on international monetary issues in relation to trade and development; another expert group's report on payments arrangements among developing countries to facilitate the expansion of trade among them; and the mobilization by the developing countries of their internal resources. The most noteworthy result of the meeting was the unanimous acceptance of an Agreed Statement of the Problems of Development. The Committee also considered the reports of the Intergovernmental Group on Supplementary Financing, of which the United States is a member. The Group was established in 1966 to study an IBRD staff proposal for the establishment of a fund to provide supplementary financial assistance (i.e., over and above basic development finance) to developing countries to prevent the disruption of their development programs as a result of unforeseen shortfalls in export earnings. The intergovernmental group met in February and again in October–November, when it approved a final report for submission to UNCTAD II. The report neither endorsed nor rejected the IBRD scheme, but indicated that consideration might be given to alternative schemes.

The Committee on Commodities met in Geneva, May 9–26. In compliance with the Trade and Development Board's request for comments on the draft provisional agenda for UNCTAD II, the Committee engaged in preliminary discussion of the commodity trade section of that agenda and reviewed the relevant documentation being prepared for the Conference. General policy questions discussed included the elements of an in-



tegrated commodity policy, the operation and financing of buffer stocks, diversification as an adjunct of commodity policy, and ways to liberalize and expand trade in commodities of interest to developing countries. The Committee also examined the report of the first session of the Advisory Committee<sup>1</sup> which analyzed some of the same subjects, and invited the Advisory Committee to continue to assist in preparations for the Conference. No changes or refinements in the draft Conference agenda were formally recommended, but the basis was laid for the addition to the agenda of an item on the problem of competition from synthetics and an item on the world food problem—the latter on U.S. initiative. The Committee requested an early meeting of its Permanent Group on Synthetics and Substitutes, a group which had been established by the Committee in 1965 but had not yet held its initial meeting (see below).

At its second session in June the Advisory Committee focused its attention on pricing policy and trade liberalization. It expressed the view that pricing policy should be pragmatic and have as its objective the stabilization of markets in the short run and the improvement of the trend of commodity earnings for the longer term. The objective of trade liberalization should be to increase, or at least maintain, the developing countries' share in domestic consumption in developed countries.

The Permanent Group on Synthetics and Substitutes met in August and reviewed the current situation in some specific commodities facing competition from synthetics or substitutes, such as rubber, textile fibers, sugar, and coconut oil. It considered questions concerning the most effective and efficient organizational means of

dealing with the future work program of UNCTAD in this area and advanced recommendations for further consideration by the appropriate UNCTAD bodies. (See p. 97 for report on meetings on individual commodities sponsored by UNCTAD and other authorities.)

In July the Committee on Manufactures and its subsidiary body, the Group on Preferences, met concurrently. The Committee reviewed the pattern and composition of the developing countries' exports of manufactures and semimanufactures for the period 1961-65; recommended that this review be extended to include the trade between the developing countries and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe as well as the trade between the developing countries themselves; agreed that the UNCTAD secretariat should prepare for UNCTAD II an evaluation of the results of the Kennedy Round in terms of their significance for exports of manufactures and semimanufactures from developing countries; generally endorsed the recommendations of the Joint UNCTAD/FAO Working Party on Forest and Timber Products and requested the Board to decide whether a further meeting of the Working Party should be convened; examined reports on the prospects for increased exports by the developing countries of fishery products and processed iron ore; and considered a number of studies on the short- and medium-term export prospects for individual countries.

The Group on Preferences continued its examination of the principal elements of any scheme of temporary tariff preferences from all developed countries to all developing countries. The discussion focused on the respective merits of two basic approaches which could be adopted in providing safeguard arrangements in a system of generalized preferences, namely, the establishment of a tariff quota system for the products covered

<sup>1</sup> "Advisory Committee to the Board and to the Committee on Commodities," a group of seven experts familiar with various aspects of commodity trade. Isaiah Frank of the United States is a member.

by preferences, or the invocation of an "escape clause" system. The Group agreed, however, that the time was not ripe for it to attempt to achieve consensus on a system of preferences, particularly while the matter remained under review in the OECD.

#### FIFTH SESSION OF THE TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT BOARD

The fifth session of the Board was held at Geneva August 15–September 9. The primary task of the session was to complete preparations for UNCTAD II by approving a provisional agenda and by further defining the purposes and objectives of UNCTAD II. While most of the member countries were agreed that UNCTAD II should concentrate on issues considered ripe for the achievement of practical results, agreement on issues meeting this criterion proved difficult. UNCTAD's Secretary General, Dr. Raul Prebisch, suggested that UNCTAD focus on the following: access of primary commodities to the markets of industrialized countries as an important element in commodity policy; preferences for the manufactures and semimanufactures exported from the developing countries; trade relations among developing countries; trade between the socialist countries and the rest of the world, in particular, developing countries; the world food problem; transfer of financial resources to developing countries and terms and conditions of this transfer; debt service burden; supplementary financing; financing of buffer stocks; and special measures for the least developed among the developing countries. In the end the Board did not formally identify any issues as "ripe for action" at UNCTAD II and left it to the President of the Board to suggest in his closing statement that a consensus had emerged on three basic objectives of UNCTAD II:

(1) to reevaluate the economic situation and its implications for the imple-

mentation of the recommendations [of the first Conference in 1964]; (2) to achieve, through appropriate forms of negotiation, specific results that ensure real progress in international cooperation for development; (3) to explore and investigate matters requiring more thorough study before agreements can be envisaged.

In another topic of interest to the United States the Board endorsed in principle the proposal for the merging of the GATT International Trade Center with UNCTAD to form a joint GATT/UNCTAD trade center to assist the developing countries in their export promotion efforts (see p. 96).

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The Second Committee of the 22d General Assembly had before it, *inter alia*, the report of the Trade and Development Board, a report of the UNCTAD Secretary General on the proposed GATT/UNCTAD trade center, and the Charter of Algiers. The Charter was a document drawn up in October by the "Group of 77" developing countries setting out their "program of action" for consideration at UNCTAD II. On December 7 the Second Committee unanimously recommended and on December 12 the Assembly unanimously adopted two resolutions concerned with UNCTAD.

The first one invited the members of UNCTAD to "give serious consideration" to the Charter of Algiers; drew the attention of UNCTAD to the statement of the President of the Trade and Development Board (quoted above); and renewed the Assembly's appeal to the members of UNCTAD "to make the maximum efforts, both in their preparations for the second session and during the deliberations of the Conference, to ensure its success with a view to the fulfillment of its basic objectives."

The second resolution approved the agreement between GATT and UNCTAD on the establishment of a joint trade center, effective January 1, 1968 (see p. 96).

# General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

The GATT is the principal instrument through which the United States works with other nations to reduce barriers to trade throughout the world. It is essentially a reciprocal trade agreement whose mutual rights and obligations apply to all of the contracting parties. The GATT is not a U.N. body, but its work in the trade field complements the economic functions of the United Nations, and the two organizations frequently cooperate on matters of mutual interest.

The principal purpose of the GATT is to increase world commerce through the progressive lowering of tariffs and other barriers to trade. It provides a set of rules designed to promote fair trading practices, including the rule of nondiscrimination in trade relationships and the principle that no barriers other than tariffs should be used to restrict trade. In addition, the GATT provides a forum for the amicable settlement of disputes arising in the conduct of international trade.

On June 30, 1967, the Kennedy Round of trade negotiations was successfully concluded. This, the sixth round of trade negotiations conducted under the GATT since its beginning in 1947, provided the most comprehensive reduction in tariffs that has ever taken place; 39 countries, including most major trading countries, participated in the multilateral exchange of tariff concessions, which covered a wide range of products. Several countries acceded to the GATT on the basis of the Kennedy Round negotiations, bringing the total number of full members to 75 by the end of the year.

The most important results of the negotiations are:

(1) Tariff cuts, averaging 35 percent on a broad range of industrial products, to be staged over a 5-year period.

(2) Agricultural concessions on a

number of items which will provide new export markets for our farm products. Although achievements are less extensive in the agricultural than the industrial sector, the gains are significant because the agricultural support programs which exist in all important trading countries made progress in this field difficult.

(3) Agreement on the main features of a world grains arrangement (see p. 99).

(4) Progress in the reduction of nontariff barriers. An antidumping code was negotiated which will standardize procedures for determining whether goods are being sold at less than fair value. In addition, several European countries agreed to eliminate other nontariff barriers, such as differential road taxes which discriminate against U.S. automobiles and certain marketing regulations which tend to restrict imports, provided the U.S. Congress authorizes elimination of the American Selling Price system of valuation which is applied to competitive benzenoid chemicals and a few other products.

The 24th session of the contracting parties to the GATT was held in November 1967 to review the results of the Kennedy Round and to provide policy guidance for the activities of GATT in the period ahead. It was generally agreed that the negotiations in the Kennedy Round had revealed areas where further study and discussion should be undertaken before trying to negotiate further reductions in trade barriers. It was therefore agreed to establish an Agricultural Committee to examine problems in agricultural trade. A working party on dairy products was also established, because some contracting parties believed that problems in this field were particularly urgent. Similar groups will probably be established for other products, and the United States is already using this procedure for consultations on problems confronting our poultry trade.

A Committee on Trade in Industrial Products was also established to explore opportunities for further liberalization of trade in this area. It will study particularly the level of tariffs remaining on industrial products after the full Kennedy Round reductions are put into effect and the nature and extent of nontariff barriers that still restrict trade in these products.

The contracting parties agreed that special attention would continue to be given to the trade problems of the developing countries through the work of the standing Committee on Trade and Development. They agreed to new procedures and recommendations for several difficult problems that the Committee has been examining, including problems related to tropical products, import restrictions on products of interest to the developing countries, consultations on balance-of-payments problems that affect their trade, and the expansion of trade among the developing countries.

During 1967 the United States continued its efforts to obtain the elimination of those quota restrictions and other nontariff barriers to imports still maintained by our trading partners. For example, quota restrictions were lifted by a number of countries, including Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Norway, South Africa, and Spain. The products subject to these liberalization measures include preserved fruits and vegetables, vegetable and animal oils, dried fruit, certain grains and grain products, motor vehicles, certain office machines, some types of motors, and many other industrial items. The European Economic Community agreed to permit the use of preservatives on certain fruits within tolerances acceptable to the United States, and Germany agreed to modify sanitary regulations on pork which had threatened to cut U.S. pork exports to that area. Similar agreements on poultry regulations were reached with Japan and Switzerland. In addition,

as a result of continuing discussion between U.S. and Canadian officials, U.S. bourbons and other whiskies will now be listed by the liquor monopoly boards of all Canadian provinces.

## International Trade Center

The International Trade Center in Geneva was established by the GATT in 1964 to help less developed countries expand their exports. Oriented toward the practical aspects of export promotion, the Center has demonstrated that it is serving a useful function for the developing countries, and its activities have steadily expanded to fill apparent needs in this field.

During 1967 negotiations between the Director General of the GATT and the Secretary General of UNCTAD led to agreement to merge the Trade Center with certain export promotion programs of UNCTAD and to establish a jointly operated and financed International Trade Center as of January 1, 1968. This agreement was subsequently endorsed by the contracting parties to the GATT during their 24th session in November and by the U.N. General Assembly in a resolution adopted unanimously on December 12.

The Center's market information service responds to specific requests from developing countries for information on the market potential in importing countries, marketing channels and techniques, commercial policy measures affecting imports, names of potential importers, and other relevant data. In providing this service it relies heavily on the assistance of a worldwide network of government and nongovernment agencies and organizations. The U.S. Department of Commerce cooperates in this and other aspects of the Trade Center's program.

The Center maintains a publications program that gives wide distri-

bution to information useful to the exporting countries, both through a periodic magazine (*International Trade Forum*) and through the issuing of pamphlets on specific aspects of export promotion. The Trade Center staff also prepares and publishes in-depth studies of the market potential for products of special interest to the developing countries.

A trade promotion advisory service provides technical assistance to the developing countries in the establishment and operation of national export programs. In addition, the Center arranges training in export promotion techniques for officials of the developing countries, both through its own facilities and through the governments of cooperating developed countries.

## Commodity Trade

Intergovernmental activities on the problems of commodity trade are a specialized field of economic cooperation in which the United Nations and its specialized agencies as well as the GATT and several autonomous commodity councils and study groups all have roles.

The U.N. Secretary-General has the authority to convene, upon request, conferences to negotiate international commodity agreements; he has now delegated this authority to the Secretary General of UNCTAD. In addition, UNCTAD's Trade and Development Board and its Committee on Commodities have the competence to arrange intergovernmental consultations on particular commodities, to keep all commodity activities under review, and to provide general policy guidance. The developing countries, which are heavily dependent on commodity trade, try to use these bodies to stimulate international attention on products important in their trade, identify products causing particular concern, influence the activities of

various bodies in the field, and sponsor meetings on specific products, as required. Another center of activity within the U.N. system is the FAO Committee on Commodity Problems, which regularly reviews trade developments in agricultural products and related policy questions and maintains surveillance over the work of a number of subsidiary commodity study groups.

The relationships among all these groups active on commodity problems are still evolving.

### COMMODITY NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN THE U.N. SYSTEM

#### Sugar

A Sugar Consultative Committee, established by the UNCTAD Secretary General in 1966 to study the technical and policy issues involved in a new price stabilization agreement, met in March and again in June to advise on the resumption of negotiations. It requested the UNCTAD Secretary General to consult with the main sugar-exporting and -importing countries on the principal outstanding issues and report, so that it could be judged whether the calling of a conference in the fall would be justified. In carrying out this request Dr. Prebisch, accompanied by the Executive Director of the International Sugar Council and a representative of the FAO, visited Havana, Washington, Brussels, and Moscow. In August Dr. Prebisch advised the members of the Consultative Committee that he found continued interest in an agreement, but a need for additional time to prepare for the conference. In October a committee of experts, convened to review a draft agreement prepared jointly by the secretariats of UNCTAD, FAO, and the Sugar Council, found continuing wide differences over key issues. Shortly thereafter sugar statisticians from the principal trading countries met to review the supply and demand prospects for sugar over the next few years.

Meetings of an UNCTAD Consultative Group in August and September laid the basis for a new Cocoa Conference convened by the UNCTAD Secretary General in November. Considerable progress was made toward working out the details of an agreement, but time was too short to complete negotiations before the Conference had to adjourn in December. It was understood that these negotiations would be resumed after UNCTAD II.

**Rubber**

In several cases, adverse market developments led producing countries to seek support in special commodity meetings for some form of joint effort to improve both the immediate market outlook and the longer term supply and demand prospects. One of the objectives was to have results to show by the time of UNCTAD II or, alternatively, proposals to submit for consideration.

After natural rubber prices fell to abnormally low levels in the late summer of 1967, producing countries appealed for urgent international consideration of possible measures to strengthen the market and the longer term outlook, including cooperation by natural and synthetic rubber producers in assessing problems of common concern. At a regularly scheduled meeting in October the independent International Rubber Study Group (IRSG) decided to establish a Natural and Synthetic Rubber Consultative Committee, bringing together government representatives from the seven major producers of natural rubber and the seven major producers of synthetic rubber. The Committee's first meeting was scheduled for December.

Almost simultaneously, the UNCTAD Secretary General received a request from five natural rubber producing countries for an UNCTAD

meeting on rubber. A special session of the Trade and Development Board was convened in New York in November to consider this request. The United States did not support the proposed meeting because it considered it unnecessary in light of the IRSG action and contrary to the principle that individual commodity problems should be handled in existing specialized bodies, where such exist, in order to avoid duplication of effort. The Board approved the proposal, however, and an UNCTAD exploratory meeting on rubber was convened in Geneva in mid-December, immediately following the first meeting of the IRSG Consultative Committee.

Duplication of effort was minimized by the close cooperation of the UNCTAD and IRSG secretariats in preparing for the two meetings and by arrangements permitting full participation by each secretariat in the meeting sponsored by the other organization. The IRSG Consultative Committee recommended steps to improve current statistics and forward estimates on both natural and synthetic rubber. It also recommended that full regard be given to the supply-demand balance in coming to decisions on the creation and utilization of production facilities, and it proposed studies to develop more facts regarding the competitive relationships between natural and synthetic rubber. The UNCTAD exploratory meeting endorsed these recommendations and agreed on a somewhat broader list of measures that might relieve the problems of the natural rubber producers. It requested that the report on the meeting be transmitted to UNCTAD II.

**Oilseeds**

During the May session of the UNCTAD Committee on Commodities, African producers of oilseeds proposed that an UNCTAD study group on fats and oils be established to consider urgently the need for and possibilities of action to improve the market for tropical oils. This move

was discouraged by the United States and others as involving unnecessary duplication of FAO activities. It was agreed, however, to ask the UNCTAD Secretary General and the FAO Director General to arrange and service an early meeting of the FAO Study Group on Oilseeds, Oils, and Fats. The meeting, held in September, authorized the convening of a joint technical working party to consider possible national and international action, with the understanding that its findings, after review by the full study group, would then be available to UNCTAD II.

#### **Sisal, Henequen, and Abaca**

Pressure for action on sisal, henequen, and abaca, a third group of products facing particular difficulties in this period, was brought to bear by producing countries in the FAO Study Group on Hard Fibers. In this case it was agreed to establish a Consultative Subcommittee authorized to recommend measures to achieve a better supply-demand balance in the market and thus stabilize prices. In taking this step the Study Group laid out certain principles to be observed by the Subcommittee, including the requirement that no action be taken by producers without the consent of importing countries.

#### **OTHER MEETINGS**

Throughout the year there were other meetings to review or act on other commodity situations. These included meetings of the U.N. Committee on Tungsten; the International Lead and Zinc Study Group (an autonomous body that was created, however, by the United Nations and is serviced on a reimbursable basis by the UNCTAD secretariat); independent study groups for cotton and wool; FAO study groups for rice, grains, bananas, and jute, kenaf, and allied fibers; and FAO-sponsored *ad hoc* consultations on tea.

Two important commodity negotia-

tions of interest to the United States, on coffee and grains, took place during the year outside the U.N. framework. The objective in each case was to conclude an instrument to renew or replace existing commodity agreements. The negotiations to renew and revise the 1962 International Coffee Agreement, due to expire September 30, 1968, were conducted within the International Coffee Council in a series of meetings beginning in August 1967 and continuing into 1968.

(For the International Grains Arrangement, see below.)

## **International Grains Arrangement**

One of the most important accomplishments in the international commodity field during 1967 was the formulation of a new International Grains Arrangement. The main provisions were negotiated in the GATT as part of the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations in Geneva, and the final negotiations took place in Rome in July and August.

All members of the United Nations and the specialized agencies were invited to participate in the Rome negotiations, which were sponsored by the International Wheat Council, and some 52 nations responded to the invitation. The major exception was the U.S.S.R. which, although a party to the International Wheat Agreement, did not attend.

Between October 15 and November 30 the Arrangement was signed in Washington by the United States and other major grain trading nations, and its substantive provisions will enter into force for a period of 3 years on July 1, 1968.

There are two parts to the new Arrangement: the Wheat Trade Convention and the Food Aid Convention.

The Wheat Trade Convention provides new and improved procedures

for stabilizing world wheat prices, building on the administrative and institutional structure of the International Wheat Agreement, which it replaces. It sets minimum and maximum prices for 14 major wheats moving in world trade. At the same time it includes provisions to ensure that U.S. wheat will be priced competitively in world markets, and that no exporting member country is placed at a disadvantage because of changes in market conditions. The price level for U.S. wheats is about 20 cents per bushel higher than that provided in the International Wheat Agreement of 1962 in order to take account of increased production costs and to ensure adequate supplies in the future. As in the earlier agreement, importing members are assured specified "datum" quantities of wheat, based on average imports during a recent period, at prices consistent with the price ranges. In return, they are obligated to purchase specified percentages of their total import requirements from member countries. While serving as the administrative organ of the Convention, the International Wheat Council will continue to gather and publish data on wheat production and trade.

An important innovation is the inclusion in the Arrangement of a Food Aid Convention which calls for 4.5 million metric tons of grain annually to be supplied as aid to developing countries. The United States agreed to contribute 42 percent of this amount (about 1.9 million metric tons); the European Economic Community, 23 percent (somewhat over a million tons); Canada, 11 percent (about 500,000 tons); Australia, the United Kingdom, and Japan, 5 percent each; and smaller contributions from four Scandinavian countries, Switzerland, and Argentina.

The contributions can be in the form of grain or the cash equivalent. It is expected that the great bulk of the contributions will be in the form of wheat, although some grain deficit

countries may contribute cash, and Japan signed the agreement with a reservation that would permit it under certain circumstances to give other aid. The cash contributions will be used with special regard to facilitating grain exports of developing member countries.

Food aid under this program will be supplied on very favorable terms—as outright grants or in local currency which would not generally be available for use by the contributing country.

All developing countries, whether members of the Arrangement or not, will be eligible to receive food aid under this program. Participating countries have the right to specify the recipients of their contributions and may channel them through an international organization such as the U.N./FAO World Food Program (see p. 159).

A Food Aid Committee, consisting of representatives of the contributing countries, will keep the overall functioning of the Arrangement under review, including its effect on food production in the recipient countries. Provision has been made for safeguards to ensure that food aid supplied under this program, or other concessional transactions in grains, do not interfere with normal commercial trade.

The International Grains Arrangement will bring significant benefits to grain exporting as well as importing countries. It will help stabilize wheat prices at a level that ensures a remunerative return to efficient suppliers, and it guarantees adequate supplies to wheat importing member countries within the price range.

At the same time the food aid program should help stabilize and strengthen commercial grain markets. It thus meets several objectives: the relief of hunger; assistance to economic development; a wider sharing of the burden of food aid; and the stabilization of an important commodity market.



# U.N. Industrial Development Organization

On January 1, 1967, UNIDO superseded the U.N. Center for Industrial Development. An autonomous body within the United Nations, UNIDO is intended to promote industrial development and accelerate the industrialization of developing countries. Its administrative and research expenses are met from the regular U.N. budget; its operational activities are financed by voluntary contributions, primarily through participation in the UNDP and through the U.N. regular program of technical assistance.

In the U.S. view, the UNIDO secretariat brought to UNIDO from its earlier work as the secretariat for the Center for Industrial Development an overemphasis on research and other headquarters activities. The United States and most other members of the governing body had desired an "action-oriented" organization—a practitioner rather than a researcher of industrial development—devoted to assisting developing countries. Some opposition to this view came from several Eastern European countries, which hoped that UNIDO might become a vehicle for pooling of technology from which they might benefit.

The first session of UNIDO's 45-member intergovernmental governing body, the Industrial Development Board, was held April 10–May 5 in New York since UNIDO had not yet moved to Vienna, chosen for its headquarters late in 1966. The Board attached major importance to UNIDO's work program, with a large majority of members expressing considerable disappointment with the proposed program submitted by the UNIDO secretariat. After difficult and protracted negotiations, a resolution was adopted unanimously providing guidelines for revising the proposed program and formulating future pro-

grams. The revised UNIDO program submitted to the 22d General Assembly in the fall, however, was not fundamentally different from that presented to the Board in the spring, and it became clear that much more needs to be done to achieve an appropriate orientation of the organization.

The Board also devoted considerable attention to UNIDO's finances. It approved, over the objections of the United States and other developed countries, a resolution on UNIDO's operational resources that (1) provided for an annual pledging conference starting in the fall of 1968, and (2) requested the General Assembly to establish a separate section in the budget for the U.N. regular program of technical assistance for industrialization programs. (See p. 91 for details.)

In 1966 the United States had allocated \$2 million to the trust fund for "special industrial services" (SIS), which is jointly administered by UNIDO and the UNDP, and had announced its intention to consider providing a like amount in 1967 from its pledge to the UNDP. Because the SIS trust fund had ample resources owing to delays in utilizing the funds already contributed, and because it had yet to show satisfactory results, the United States did not exercise its option to make a further contribution.

The 1968 administrative budget of UNIDO provides a generous increase over 1967. Much of this increase is being used to build a large headquarters complement, although the United States and others on the Industrial Development Board favored emphasis on field representation and activities supported by a small, proficient headquarters staff.

UNIDO moved its headquarters to Vienna in October. The Government of Austria will build a new \$25 million U.N. Center for UNIDO and the IAEA. Space will be leased to UNIDO for a token rental of one Austrian schilling a year.

## INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The International Symposium on Industrial Development, held in Athens, November 29–December 19, was UNIDO's first major undertaking. It was attended by about 600 delegates from 78 UNIDO member states and 37 international organizations. Concurrently with the Symposium, UNIDO held an "Industrial Promotion Service" (IPS) which provided a systematic referral service to over 600 "special guests" and UNIDO delegates, including about 245 representatives of supplier organizations from 19 countries and 260 representatives of consumer organizations from 61 countries. Approximately 50 of the special guests were from the American industrial and business community. IPS services included registration, interview, and appointment facilities as well as special presentations by individual organizations. The IPS was generally successful and the Symposium recommended that UNIDO consider ways and means to provide further services of a similar nature.

The Athens site for the Symposium had been chosen by the General Assembly in 1966. At ECOSOC's meeting in July 1967 the U.S.S.R., supported by other Eastern European countries, requested that the site be changed. This request was made because of political differences with the Greek Government that had assumed power in April 1967. No decision was taken by ECOSOC. However, when the issue was raised again at the 22d General Assembly in the fall, it was decided that the Symposium should be held in Athens as scheduled, even though Eastern European countries and Sweden had stated they would not attend.

The Symposium helped to improve relations between developing and developed countries and was generally conducted in a spirit of cooperation. This favorable outcome was due in large part to the efforts of both devel-

oping and developed countries to have a free exchange of ideas and experience and to reach a common understanding of ends and means. The absence of Eastern European countries also allowed the Symposium to avoid East/West differences. In addition it created a more favorable atmosphere for the United States and other Western countries to stress the benefits of private foreign investment in the industrialization of developing countries.

The U.S. delegation, under the chairmanship of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Walter M. Kotschnig, played a prominent part in the Symposium. The participation on the delegation of American business and labor representatives, who made up half the delegation, contributed greatly to the emphasis placed on the benefits to developing countries of private investment from abroad and to the generally successful outcome of the Symposium.

## U.N. Capital Development Fund

There were two developments during 1967 relating to the U.N. Capital Development Fund, established by the 21st General Assembly on December 13, 1966, over U.S. opposition. One concerned the voluntary pledging of resources to finance the Fund's operational activities; the other, the arrangements for executive management of the Fund.

Pursuant to the General Assembly resolution establishing the Fund, the U.N. Secretary-General convened a pledging conference in New York on October 31 to enable U.N. member states that so desired to announce their voluntary contributions to the capital of the Fund. Consistent with its longstanding opposition to the Fund, the United States, along with virtually all other developed countries,

neither participated in the pledging session, nor pledged resources for the Fund's activities. The pledging session itself produced commitments by a small number of developing countries of \$1.2 million, of which only \$141,000 was in U.S. dollars. This served to confirm the U.S. view that the new Fund could not be expected to attract significant contributions in the current highly competitive market for development capital.

Notwithstanding this trend of events, some countries desired to give institutional form to the Capital Development Fund in accordance with the enabling General Assembly resolution. Accordingly, on December 12 the Netherlands introduced in the Second Committee a resolution that:

(1) invited the Secretary-General to ask the Administrator of the UNDP to administer the Capital Development Fund by performing the functions of the Fund's Managing Director;

(2) provided for the Governing Council of the UNDP to perform the functions of the Executive Board of the Capital Development Fund; and

(3) provided that future pledging sessions of the UNDP and Capital Development Fund be convened simultaneously.

These arrangements are provisional and are to be reviewed in 1968 by the 23d General Assembly. The Second Committee approved the resolution on December 12 by a vote of 73 to 8, with 11 abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on December 15 by a vote of 75 to 8, with 12 abstentions. The United States, as well as several other developed countries, voted against it. The United States viewed the resolution as a step in the direction of a merger of the UNDP and the Capital Development Fund, a move which it opposes. It continues to view the UNDP as a primary source of pre-investment financing related to development and to oppose UNDP involvement in such direct capital lending

functions as are now being performed by other well established international and regional institutions.

## Population Activities

The 21st General Assembly had unanimously adopted on December 17, 1966, a resolution that called on U.N. bodies and the specialized agencies concerned to assist national and regional facilities for training, research, information, and advisory services in the field of population. During 1967 the United States supported followup action in each relevant U.N. agency to secure approval of resolutions calling for assistance to member countries, upon request, and/or studies relating to population problems within the competence of each agency.

During May the Committee for Program and Coordination (see p. 145) reviewed population activities throughout the U.N. system, concluding that work should concentrate more on action programs at the regional and country levels. The Committee also recommended that research work should emphasize studies that can serve as practical tools for policy-making or for supporting field activities.

WHO has been a leader for several years in the study of population dynamics. The World Health Assembly in May adopted a resolution endorsing the organization's work in this field and calling for further assistance to national research projects (see p. 166). To prepare for the implementation of this resolution, WHO conducted in-service training for its staff in the fields of population dynamics, the scientific aspects of fertility regulation, and family planning methods.

The Executive Board of UNICEF decided in June to provide assistance for family planning services to countries requesting such help as a part of its program in maternal and child

health services (see p. 125). Also in June, the International Labor Conference requested the ILO Director General to undertake a comprehensive study of the influence and consequences of rapid population growth on opportunities for training, employment, and welfare of workers, particularly in developing countries.

In August ECOSOC adopted a resolution urging all organizations in the U.N. system to make every effort, within their competence, to develop and render more effective their programs in this field, including training, research, information, and advisory services. The resolution specifically noted the study that the ILO Director General had been requested to make, and it urged UNESCO, in particular, to pursue actively its education, social science, and mass media activities concerned with the population problem. Subsequently, in October, the UNESCO Executive Board approved a work program in this field proposed by its Director General (see p. 163).

The FAO Director General in his October report on the world food situation stressed the fact that population growth is running ahead of increased food production in the developing countries and that population control is essential. The FAO Conference in November decided to include family planning advice in its home economics extension program in the developing countries (see p. 157).

During its biennial session in Geneva, October 30–November 10, the U.N. Population Commission reviewed the recent work of the U.N. Population Division and approved a work program for 1968 and 1969 that included demographic projections, evaluations and estimates of available data, and the preparation of surveys, studies, and manuals. The Commission agreed to place more emphasis on action programs in population and family planning.

On December 11 the U.N. Secretary-General released the names of 18

Heads of State or Prime Ministers, including President Johnson, who had added their signature during the year to the “declaration on population growth and human dignity and welfare” previously signed by 12 Heads of Government in 1966. This Declaration expresses the convictions that:

(1) the population problem is a principal element in long-range national planning to achieve economic goals;

(2) the opportunity to decide the number and spacing of children is a basic human right;

(3) lasting and meaningful peace will depend to a considerable measure upon how the challenge of population growth is met; and

(4) the objective of family planning is the enrichment of human life, not its restriction, and that by assuring greater opportunity to each person it frees the individual to reach his full potential.

Earlier, in July, the Secretary-General had announced the establishment of a trust fund for population activities with a target of \$5.5 million for 5 years. Ambassador Arthur E. Goldschmidt announced the U.S. intention, subject to legislative approval, to make a contribution of \$500,000 to help establish a U.N. field staff that would help countries identify and prepare action project requests in the population field.

## Statistical Activities

Important steps were taken during 1967 to improve the quality and international comparability of statistical information available worldwide on international trade, national income and product, industrial production, population, and other important economic and social subjects. Although the U.N. Statistical Commission did not meet during the year, the United States continued to work for improved statistics and to seek better coordina-

tion in the statistical work of international organizations by its participation in U.N. regional statistical conferences and other international bodies.

#### **COORDINATION**

One noteworthy measure to improve coordination was the establishment of a Subcommittee on Statistical Activities within the U.N. Administrative Committee on Coordination. This Subcommittee, composed of statistical officials of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and other international organizations with substantial statistical activities, held its first meeting in July. It has already contributed to improved coordination by preparing an agreed list of statistical fields that are recognized as interrelated, and on which cooperation and consultation are desirable to develop and promulgate standards and recommendations.

#### **INTERNATIONAL TRADE STATISTICS**

The quality, timeliness, and scope of statistics compiled and made available by the International Trade Statistics Center at the U.N. Statistical Office continued to improve. More than a hundred countries now report regularly to the Center on their imports and exports, distinguishing countries of origin and destination, in essentially the full commodity detail of the Standard International Trade Classification. The Center is now processing some 700,000 items of trade data per month, converting them to standard format by machine, and storing them on machine-readable tapes which can be used for the regular trade statistics publications as well as for special tabulations supplied at cost to governments and other users. One of the U.S. Government agencies that currently have contracts with the Center is the Department of Commerce. The Department's Bureau of International Commerce is receiving from the Center a series of 1,200 tabulations on the U.S. share of foreign markets for man-

ufactured goods during 1962-66. The Center is also providing regular and special tabulations of trade data to intergovernmental bodies, enabling them to eliminate trade statistics questionnaires formerly sent to their member countries.

#### **NATIONAL ACCOUNTS STATISTICS**

The revision of the U.N. System of National Accounts (SNA), which has received major attention during the past 2 years, neared completion during 1967 with the preparation of detailed proposals for consideration by the Statistical Commission at its 15th session in 1968. The revised SNA is expected to provide a new and more comprehensive set of international guidelines that will improve the integration of national income and produce accounts with input-output, financial flows, and other economic accounts. It will also improve the comparability between statistics compiled according to the U.N. system and those compiled according to the Material Product System which is used by countries of Eastern Europe.

#### **WORLD CENSUS PROGRAM**

Following the adoption in 1966 of recommendations for the 1970 World Population and Housing Census Programs, work went forward during 1967 on the development of methodological aids and other forms of assistance to developing countries in planning and conducting their census programs. In a related activity the United States invited ECE's Conference of European Statisticians to convene in Washington in 1968 a joint meeting of its working groups on population censuses and on electronic data processing.

#### **OTHER ACTIVITIES**

Work continued on plans for another World Program of Basic Industrial Statistics in or about 1973; the development of international

recommendations for a system of industrial statistics based on annual or more frequent inquiries in addition to periodic censuses; programs of statistics on construction and on distributive and service trades; and improvement and standardization of vital statistics. Proposals for the revision of the International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities were developed for consideration by the Statistical Commission, and a start was made on developing schemes to classify enterprises and to classify commodities in terms of the industry or economic activity in which they are characteristically produced. Further progress was made in the application of electronic data processing, and the computer facilities available to the U.N. Statistical Office are now being used in the compilation and processing of statistics on population, national accounts, and industrial production as well as international trade.

## U.N. Institute for Training and Research

UNITAR is an autonomous institution within the U.N. framework, designed to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations in pursuing its two main objectives—the maintenance of peace and security and the promotion of economic and social development. It has two principal functions:

- (1) operational research, planning, and evaluation of U.N. activities, including studies of substantive issues with which the United Nations deals; and

- (2) training of personnel, particularly from developing member states, for assignments with the United Nations and for national service.

UNITAR is guided by an 18-member Board of Trustees responsible for determining basic policy and

approving the budget. Although the members serve in individual rather than national capacity, the Board reflects a broad geographic range as well as professional qualifications. During 1967 Ambassador Charles Yost, former Deputy U.S. Representative to the United Nations, replaced Kermit Gordon, now president of the Brookings Institution, on the Board. Other nations represented on the Board are Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Chile, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Iran, Japan, Poland, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, and Venezuela. Ralph J. Bunche and Jiri Nosek represent the U.N. Secretariat.

The Board met in March and October but decided henceforth to hold just one meeting a year. At its October meeting the Board adopted a budget estimate for 1968 of \$1,290,000, slightly higher than the \$1,227,000 spent in 1967. The United States contributed \$400,000 to UNITAR in 1967. In addition the United States has twice (1966 and 1967) contributed \$100,000 to meet the total cost of the Adlai E. Stevenson Fellowships which are designed to improve the competence for public service of a select international group of young men and women and to further their understanding of the role of international organizations.

The Executive Director of UNITAR, Gabriel D'Arboussier of Senegal, retired at the end of 1967, and the Board endorsed the Secretary-General's appointment of Chief Adebo of Nigeria as his successor effective January 1, 1968.

Following the practice established the previous year, both ECOSOC and the General Assembly considered UNITAR's program in 1967.

### ECOSOC ACTION

At its 43d session in Geneva ECOSOC considered the report of the UNITAR Executive Director on July 27. In his statement to the Council, Mr. D'Arboussier emphasized

UNITAR's close collaboration with directors of other institutions of planning, training, and research within the U.N. family for the purpose of undertaking joint projects and avoiding duplication of effort. UNITAR had inherited from the United Nations three training programs for foreign service officers in Africa and for technical assistance officers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In this connection the Executive Director said that henceforth more emphasis would be placed on in-house training for U.N. staffs.

With respect to research, the Executive Director reported that 12 projects had been undertaken: relations between the United Nations and regional organizations; criteria and methods for evaluating U.N. assistance to developing countries; planning, programming, and budgeting systems (PPBS) as applied to U.N. activities; U.N. experience with plebiscites and elections; the U.N. information program; the status and problems of very small states and territories; a comparative study of measures against racial discrimination; the "brain drain"; the transfer of technology from enterprise to enterprise; new training techniques; means of ensuring wider acceptance and application of multilateral treaties; and the study of common problems of U.N. institutes of planning, training, and research.

Mr. D'Arboussier noted that the first group of the Stevenson Fellows had started a 10-month program in January 1967, and that awards for the second program, beginning September 1967, had been made. Fellows for the two groups were chosen from Afghanistan, Argentina, Bolivia, The Gambia, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, the Philippines, Switzerland, Tanzania, Thailand, Tunisia, the United States (2), and Yugoslavia.

Philip J. Berman, a member of the U.S. delegation to ECOSOC, stated that UNITAR had a significant poten-

tial for improving the effectiveness of the U.N. system by applying modern managerial and operational research concepts to its activities, clarifying administrative problems confronting the organization, and providing training. He singled out for favorable comment the research projects of PPBS, criteria and methods of evaluation, transfer of technology, and the U.N. public information program. Studies dealing with the problems of developing states would, he hoped, aim at acquiring new knowledge rather than merely compiling existing data. Training programs for national officers in charge of coordinating technical assistance should aim at providing insight into the operational aspects of U.N. activities. He noted that the individuals selected for the Stevenson fellowship program so far had been of high quality and showed great promise; the United States hoped that other governments would contribute to this or similar fellowship programs. He also voiced the hope that the approval recently expressed by some countries for UNITAR would take the practical form of contributions to its budget.

On July 26 ECOSOC unanimously adopted a resolution that noted with satisfaction the progress made by UNITAR and welcomed particularly its activities directed toward assisting the developing countries and strengthening the capabilities and procedures of the United Nations; recognized the importance of UNITAR's collaboration with the U.N. Secretariat, other U.N. bodies, and the specialized agencies, as well as with appropriate national and international organizations; and expressed its appreciation to the governments, private institutions, and individuals that have already made or pledged financial contributions to UNITAR.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The 22d General Assembly discussed UNITAR in its Second Committee on November 22. The Acting

Executive Director of UNITAR, Oscar Schachter, summarized the report of the Executive Director on the current program and reported that the total amount of voluntary contributions pledged was \$4 million, \$2.7 million of which had already been paid.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador I. W. Abel, noted that the United States was particularly interested in the plan to make UNITAR a center where future high-level officers of the United Nations and the specialized agencies would be trained in the administrative and substantive aspects of U.N. programs. With respect to the research program, he reaffirmed the U.S. position taken at ECOSOC and expressed the belief that UNITAR research should continue to be directed mainly at improving the effectiveness of the U.N. system by raising standards of administration and strength-

ening the U.N. operational capacity to respond to critical international demands. He noted with approval the cooperative arrangements with institutions throughout the world that could strengthen UNITAR's unique quality as a center and clearinghouse for cooperation on research and training.

The resolution, unanimously adopted in committee on November 22 and in plenary on December 4, noted with satisfaction the report of the Executive Director; endorsed the ECOSOC resolution described above; welcomed the progress made by UNITAR in its various programs and activities; and expressed the General Assembly's appreciation to the governments, private institutions, and individuals that have made or pledged financial contributions to UNITAR.

## Social Cooperation

Social cooperation includes many activities in such fields as health and nutrition, labor, education, vocational training, housing and urban development, crime prevention and control, and social welfare. Primary responsibility for developing the United Nations own policy and programs in these fields is in ECOSOC's Commission for Social Development. Specific aspects of social policy are also the concern of the Population Commission, the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, and the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning.

Programs are carried out by a number of U.N. bodies including WHO, ILO, UNESCO, UNICEF, and UNHCR. In addition, three of the regional economic commissions (ECA, ECAFE, and ECLA) are con-

cerned with social as well as economic development within their regions.

## Social Development and Planning

The Commission for Social Development held its 18th session at U.N. Headquarters March 6-23. ECOSOC reviewed the Commission's work at its 42d session May 8-June 6, and subsequently the Third (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) Committee of the 22d General Assembly also reviewed some aspects of it.

The major items on the Commission's agenda were housing, building, and planning; the draft declaration on social development; technical cooperation activities in the social field;



land reform; and social questions relating to the extension of health services.

#### **PILOT PROJECT IN SLUM RENEWAL**

The U.S. Representative, Marjorie McKenzie Lawson, was one of the first speakers on the report of the fourth session of the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning (September 1966). Affirming that urban growth was a major social problem to which the Commission must give continuing attention, she noted particularly the urgent need to improve the housing of low-income families. She observed that there was a need for "short-term goals offering improvements that are more modest, but therefore more achievable, than the goals heretofore sought," and proposed that the Commission consider a pilot project to demonstrate the practicability of a low-cost program to improve the shanty towns and slum areas. This program would aim not only at physical improvement but also, by providing necessary social services, at the better integration of the dwellers into the life of the city.

The main thrust of the program would be to promote human resource development along with physical improvement. The program would seek to elicit participation on the part of the citizens whose urban and social conditions were being improved and to encourage motivation for development.

After consultations with others the U.S. delegation joined Iran, Norway, Peru, and the Philippines, in cosponsoring a resolution that proposed a pilot demonstration program in slum and squatter areas. In the course of the debate the original draft was modified in a number of respects, particularly to ensure that it would apply to both urban and rural areas. The U.S.S.R. made a series of procedural motions in an effort to prevent any vote on the resolutions, but these were defeated and the resolution was adopted on March 22 by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 5, with 3 abstentions.

In its final form the resolution, *inter alia*, urged member states to undertake "practical pilot programs adapted to the needs of developing countries and directed at the improvement of living conditions in squatter settlements or slums of urban and rural areas through a simultaneous attack on the social, economic and physical conditions of such areas . . . ." The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to consult with the governments of member states and appropriate U.N. and other international agencies "to determine the possibilities of obtaining financial, technical and material support for such pilot programs, and to provide the general direction for any pilot program which may be initiated, giving appropriate attention to the coordination of the various U.N. bodies concerned . . . ."

The Commission approved unanimously a second resolution, initiated by Canada and cosponsored by Chile, Cyprus, Greece, Morocco, Netherlands, and Upper Volta, that requested the Secretary-General to prepare a report on the most appropriate means to focus worldwide attention on problems associated with the lack of adequate housing and community facilities, and requested the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning to consider the advisability of proclaiming an International Housing Year.

#### **DRAFT DECLARATION ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

The 21st General Assembly had requested the Commission to draft a declaration on social development. The United States had been unenthusiastic about this proposal because it believed there were already an adequate number of declarations to guide U.N. programs in this field, and it was one of three countries which abstained when it came to a vote. Since the proposal had been adopted by an overwhelming majority, the United States was prepared to co-

operate in its drafting, but it did not wish to have this task preempt too much of the 18th session in view of the many other important items on the agenda. The U.S. goal, which on the whole was achieved, was to limit debate and confine discussion to the methods of preparing the declaration and to an identification of the major points which it should include.

The Director of the U.N. Bureau of Social Affairs opened the debate by suggesting a four-part declaration—preamble, principles, objectives, and means and methods. She also proposed establishing a working party to outline the main elements for inclusion, identify the documents and special studies which might be necessary, and draw up a plan of action and timetable. After debate and consultations the Commission decided to set up a working party of 16 members, including the United States, to perform these suggested tasks and to report to the Commission before the end of the session.

During the first few days of its work the working party agreed on a number of points to be included in the preamble and the principles. With the deadline drawing near when it had to report to the Commission, the group readily accepted a U.S. proposal that it incorporate the objectives, means, and methods set forth in a detailed 1966 ECOSOC resolution on the Reappraisal of the Role of the Social Commission.

On March 21 the Commission approved the working party's report on the main points to be included in the declaration. It also recommended to ECOSOC that:

(1) the working party meet 10 to 14 days before the 19th session of the Commission to prepare a preliminary draft declaration for consideration by the Commission and subsequently by ECOSOC;

(2) ECOSOC authorize the Secretary-General to send the draft to all member states for their comments;

(3) the working party should meet

again in September 1968 to revise the preliminary draft in the light of comments received from governments, and should be authorized by ECOSOC to prepare the final draft of the declaration for submission to the General Assembly at its 23d session; and

(4) the Secretary-General should undertake consultations with the specialized agencies prior to the February 1968 session of the working party.

The United States and several other delegations questioned the proposed transmittal of the draft from the working party to the General Assembly without prior approval by the Commission and ECOSOC. When this matter was discussed at the 42d session of ECOSOC the Council decided to approve only steps (1) and (4) and to leave for future consideration the remainder of the timetable for the draft declaration. On December 11 the General Assembly at its 22d session noted with appreciation the progress achieved by the Commission in preparing the draft declaration and invited both ECOSOC and the Commission to continue to give this task high priority. It did not, however, take any further action on the timetable for considering the declaration.

#### TECHNICAL COOPERATION

One of the most important items on the Commission's agenda was the review of technical cooperation activities in the field of social development. Most delegations urged further study of the program and presented their preliminary views on priorities in this field. A number of representatives expressed their concern over the imbalance in the use of technical assistance funds between economic and social projects. They also stressed, however, the difficulties faced by developing countries in assessing priorities and in establishing an integrated approach in the social field.

The U.S. Representative agreed that priorities must be established by the countries themselves.

Nevertheless, it is clearly evident from the report, and the U.S. delegation agrees, that the social aspects of development have not been given adequate priority by member governments or by the United Nations and, further, that assistance for housing and urbanization, population programs, social welfare, youth programs, social planning, and training has been particularly inadequate.

The U.S. Representative indicated that the United States would support a resolution calling for higher priority in the technical assistance program to the areas she had mentioned. She also noted that the United States has consistently supported efforts to strengthen the U.N. technical cooperation services, and would support a further review and assessment of the assistance programs in social development.

The U.S. delegation drafted and circulated informally a resolution along these lines, but after consultation with many delegations decided to leave the initiative in this matter to a group of developing countries from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The draft which this group subsequently circulated presented a number of problems from the U.S. standpoint in that it proposed that the three rapporteurs who would carry on "an evaluation" should all come from the developing countries. Negotiations on these points were long and difficult, and a compromise was reached only as the voting was about to begin.

In its final form, the resolution proposed that the Secretary-General designate five rapporteurs from among the member states represented on the Commission "to undertake an examination and assessment of the different programs and methods used by the United Nations family in the social field of technical assistance for the developing countries" through consultations with governments of member states, the UNDP, UNIDO, UNICEF, appropriate specialized agencies, and the regional economic commissions. It invited the Commission for Social Development to make recommendations not later than at its 20th session on ways of strengthening

the operational programs of the U.N. system in the social field in order to enable these programs to play their full role in promoting social development.

In other operative paragraphs the resolution recommended that governments accord special consideration in the formulation of requests and in the allocation of resources for technical assistance to problems of social development, and requested the Secretary-General, the UNDP, UNIDO, UNICEF, and the specialized agencies concerned to give favorable consideration to requests for assistance in all aspects of the social field.

Although the language is weaker than the United States and some other governments would have preferred, this resolution represents the first attempt by the Commission in recent years to obtain increased allocations from technical assistance funds.

Before the final vote on March 23 a further dispute arose when several countries, including the United States, indicated reservations with respect to either the terms of reference of the rapporteurs, which might overlap the evaluations of technical assistance being undertaken by other U.N. bodies, or the financial implications of the resolution. Sponsors of the resolution threatened to withdraw the compromise, but after further discussion, the reservations were withdrawn and the compromise resolution reinstated and unanimously adopted. Subsequently, in an explanation of vote, the United States in effect reaffirmed its reservation with respect to the financial aspects of the resolution.

The representatives of the specialized agencies, while expressing their willingness to cooperate with the group of rapporteurs, indicated they had some problems with the terms of reference and might raise the issue when the matter came before ECOSOC, and, in fact, did so. The United Kingdom proposed at the 42d ECOSOC, with strong support from WHO, UNESCO, and ILO representa-

tives, that action on this resolution be deferred to the summer session so that the specialized agencies could be consulted before it was acted upon. Most delegations, however, felt that the resolution provided adequately for consultation with the specialized agencies, and after some debate it was adopted by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (U.K.)

#### **WORLD LAND REFORM**

The Commission based its discussion of this topic on a report of the 1966 World Land Reform Conference and a Secretariat note on the conclusions of the conference as they relate to social development. The Conference had confirmed that comprehensive land reforms were necessary for economic and social development and had stressed the need for land redistribution and improvements in social infrastructure. It had concluded, *inter alia*, that land reform should be an integral part of overall national development planning; there should be broad popular participation in planning and implementing land reform; steps should be taken to meet the increased demand for trained personnel to plan, administer, and implement land reform programs; and the U.N. system should intensify its activities in this field.

Speaking for the United States, Sheldon Granger, Deputy Assistant Secretary for International Affairs in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, agreed with the conference view that traditional agrarian structures were a deterrent to rapid economic and social programs. He emphasized that reform is needed in any country where land tenure relationships impede the effective use of resources, the equitable distribution of wealth and income, and the improvement of the well-being of the population. The interrelationship between land, food, and population made land reform a matter of high priority. The United States supported intensified U.N. action along the lines

of the conclusion of the conference and suggested that consideration be given to a study to measure and evaluate the effects of land reform on the growth, distribution, and migration of population; the level of employment; and the food supply.

The Commission did not adopt any resolution on this subject, but in its report expressed its agreement in general with the findings and conclusions of the 1966 World Land Reform Conference and endorsed the resolution adopted at the conference.

#### **EXTENSION OF HEALTH SERVICES**

The Commission considered a report prepared by WHO on Social Questions Relating to the Extension of Health Services, which focused on the factors affecting the availability and use of health services by the population at large and provided suggestions for more effective use of education and training.

The U.S. delegation suggested joint WHO/U.N. collaboration on studying the relationship between social development and health, noting particularly such problems as (1) the distribution of health services personnel and facilities within the developing countries, (2) the relationship between health and social service organizations, (3) the specific relationships between health and economic and social development, and (4) ways and means of training and using increased health and social service auxiliary personnel. The United States noted specifically the need to expand U.N. assistance to family planning programs, and the particular importance of adequate health services for children and youth.

France, Greece, Mauritania, Tanzania, the U.S.S.R., U.A.R., and Upper Volta cosponsored a draft resolution which, as amended in plenary session, invited WHO to prepare for the Commission's 19th session a study, based on existing information, of the extent to which basic health and medical services are available in

representative groups of countries at different stages of development. During the debate on the resolution, several countries, including the United States, urged the cosponsors to defer the report until the 20th session (1969) in order to give WHO more time to prepare a good report and to avoid crowding the already heavy agenda of the 19th session. The suggestion was not accepted, however, and the resolution was adopted 24 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions.

When the resolution was discussed at the 42d ECOSOC, it was amended slightly to request WHO to prepare this report "if possible" for the 19th session of the Commission on Social Development, and with this change was adopted unanimously. Subsequently WHO advised the U.N. Secretariat that the report could not be completed until the 20th session of the Commission.

#### **WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION**

Under the agenda item entitled World Social Situation, something of a misnomer, the 22d General Assembly briefly reviewed the work of the Commission for Social Development and the subsequent actions by ECOSOC on its report.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Patricia R. Harris, said in the Third Committee on November 23:

The revised work program of the United Nations in the social field can be commended for its responsiveness to the major conclusions and recommendations of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council dealing with the reappraisal of the role of the Social Commission and the requests of the Assembly for a long-range social program for the United Nations. . . . We would also urge, as does the Committee for Program and Coordination, that increasing attention in the work program should be given to problems related to urbanization and to broad issues of social policy.

A resolution introduced by a number of developing countries and amended by others was adopted unan-

imously in the Third Committee on November 30. Among other things, the resolution called on all member states to respond to the Secretary-General's appeal for a significant expansion of international assistance for development which will contribute to the improvement of the world social situation. In plenary session an oral amendment was introduced by Morocco that had the effect of addressing this appeal particularly to the economically advanced states. Without debate the amendment was adopted by a vote of 57 to 7 (U.S.), with 36 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was adopted unanimously on December 11.

#### **CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS RESPONSIBLE FOR SOCIAL WELFARE**

A preparatory committee for the Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare met at U.N. Headquarters from August 28 to September 6 to advise the Secretary-General on the organization, agenda, and methods of work of the conference. The U.S. expert on this committee is Ellen Winston, former U.S. Commissioner of Welfare in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The committee focused its attention on the four main themes for conference discussion—social welfare within the framework of national development, manpower needs for social welfare, governmental responsibility for social welfare, and international cooperation in the social welfare field. Documents for conference consideration are now in preparation at the United Nations along the lines recommended by the expert committee.

The conference is scheduled to take place at U.N. Headquarters in New York, September 3–12, 1968. More than 80 countries are expected to send delegations headed by the government cabinet officer with major responsibility for social welfare programs. The meeting, first global conference of its kind held at the United Nations, is

attracting wide interest on the part of international organizations as well as national governments.

## Social Defense Activities

At its 18th session the Commission for Social Development had before it a report by the Secretary-General on the Status of the Social Defense Trust Fund which had been authorized by ECOSOC in 1965.

The Secretary-General informed the Commission that a number of governments had pledged contributions in cash or kind, other governments had informally signified their intention to contribute, and consultation with foundations and other nongovernmental sources had indicated that significant funding might also be anticipated from such sources. He advised the Commission that he intended to use the trust fund to strengthen international action in the field of social defense, "particularly through the expansion of operational activities and the establishment of an international research institute."

The report called attention to the recommendations of the Advisory Committee of Experts on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders concerning the need for additional regional training institutes, broadened assistance to national social defense centers wherever they exist, and the expansion of interregional advisory services through the creation of an interregional social defense adviser at U.N. Headquarters.

With respect to the proposals outlined by the Secretary-General, the United States expressed its approval of the continuing efforts to obtain additional support under the funds-in-trust arrangement to assure additional social defense services to developing countries. The U.S. Representative had previously recorded some reservations about the priority assigned to the creation of an inter-

national research institute; she withdrew them in light of the warm support the Advisory Committee had given the proposal. She supported the project in principle, but indicated that there was no likelihood of the U.S. Government making a cash contribution to its support.

On August 7 the Secretary-General announced that the U.N. Social Defense Research Institute had been established in Rome, and that the Government of Italy had agreed to furnish, equip, and maintain premises for it. The Institute's Director is Edward Galway, a U.S. citizen who formerly served as Chief of the Section of Social Defense in the U.N. Secretariat's Bureau of Social Affairs.

The Secretary-General announced that the work of the Institute will be "oriented toward the development of new knowledge and application thereof in advancing policy and practice in the prevention and control of juvenile delinquency and adult criminality."

During the course of the year the group of seven U.S. correspondents to the United Nations on social defense activities held an organizational meeting and agreed on a division of work by functional area of correction. The contributions of the members will be coordinated by Myrl E. Alexander, Director of the Bureau of Prisons, who will keep the group informed of developments affecting their work as correspondents. Mr. Alexander is also a vice chairman of the Advisory Committee of Experts on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders.

## Advisory Social Welfare Services

The U.N. Advisory Social Welfare Services program serves countries in every part of the world, providing technical advisers, fellowships, and technical literature, as well as support

for demonstration projects in the fields of housing, community development, social welfare, social defense, rehabilitation, and population problems. The services have been used effectively by approximately 90 countries that have been assisted to establish or expand their facilities for family, child welfare, and youth services; training for social workers; social welfare planning; probation and other aspects of correctional work; and community development in urban and rural areas. Funds for this program are provided in the U.N. regular budget and amounted to approximately \$1.6 million in 1967, a decrease from over \$2.0 million in earlier years. The lower level is because there is no longer a fixed sum in the technical assistance budget for social welfare programs, and competition from other areas has been severe. The Secretary-General reports a backlog of requests amounting to more than \$4.0 million for social projects.

The United States has cooperated in many ways to ensure the success of this program. It is a major host country for U.N. Fellows interested in studying social services and related programs in the field of social development and also supplies qualified experts to serve as technical advisers abroad.

During 1967, 40 U.N. Fellows studied in the United States, mainly in the fields of community development, individual and family services, rehabilitation, social planning administration and research, and juvenile delinquency.

Requests for training from other countries reflect interest in U.S. developments in the social field. The anti-poverty programs, with their emphasis on local community action, have many elements similar to the aided self-help and community participation stressed in development programs overseas. The 1967 programs of U.N. Fellows were equally divided between rural and urban areas. Ob-

servations and study programs were carried out in Boston, Hartford, New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Durham, and Washington, as well as other urban areas. South Dakota, Washington, Arkansas, Connecticut, Tennessee, Arizona, and North Carolina were some of the states offering study opportunities. Of particular interest were the programs with emphasis on regional development in the State of Washington and the programs operated by the North Carolina Fund.

Under the broad heading of individual and family services, U.N. Fellows were particularly interested in improvement of conditions for women and children. Most U.N. Fellows expressed considerable interest in U.S. youth programs. Many were concerned with our plans for "dropouts" and for youth who migrate to urban centers. They were also interested in observing special education projects geared to youth and especially those designed to increase incentives for youth to remain in school. The problems of youth in U.S. slums are duplicated in many overseas cities. Several U.N. Fellows consulted with officials in the Office of Economic Opportunity; the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; the Department of Labor; the National Urban League; and other agencies especially concerned with job findings and job training for youth.

The field of social planning and administration has interested a number of U.N. Fellows. Several undertook graduate study at the University of Michigan School of Social Work. Those interested in social research consulted with government officials in Washington while carrying out study programs in social work schools. In addition to these individual programs, a number of U.N. Fellows took part in U.S. Government-sponsored group programs such as a seminar in Problems in Social Development, for which Fordham University School of Social Service provided technical leadership.

During 1967, 13 U.S. social workers served as U.N. advisers, 12 with various governments and 1 with ECLA. Their work concentrated on social work training and community development, reflecting the current recognition of the continuing shortage of social welfare personnel and the growing acceptance of the community development approach in national development.

Of particular interest is the attention to social considerations in national development manifested by the community development advisers. The adviser to Zambia, for example, is responsible for consultation to the government on the social welfare aspects of community development. The adviser in Venezuela is responsible for consultation on the social aspects of agrarian reform.

Group sessions financed by the Advisory Social Welfare Services program included the 14th in a series of training courses organized by the U.N. Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. Since 1962 this Institute has trained approximately 300 participants, including lawyers, public prosecutors, police, social workers, correctional personnel, and other officials working in the field of crime prevention and rehabilitation. Participants in this 3-month program, which began in Japan in February, came from Afghanistan, the Republic of China, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Japan, Malaysia, Nepal, Philippines, and Thailand.

A new rehabilitation center of the Asociación Pro Rehabilitación de Inválidos was inaugurated on January 20 in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. Since 1963, the United Nations has provided technical assistance to this country in the form of advisers, experts, and fellowships, as well as by a grant of funds to acquire basic material for the prosthetic workshop. The center provides medical, prosthetic, and social services for about

30 patients daily and trains personnel in such fields as physiotherapy and prosthetics. It is the first rehabilitation center in the Dominican Republic for disabled children and adults.

With the cooperation of the Danish Government, a U.N. interregional workshop on population programs was held in Denmark. The purpose of the workshop was to exchange experiences and knowledge on national and regional programs of training in the field of population, and to formulate recommendations related to the changing needs of countries.

Other group programs included an interregional seminar on rural housing and community facilities, held in Maracay, Venezuela, in April, and an ECAFE-sponsored, 3-week regional training meeting for directors of schools of social work, social welfare planners, and administrators.

The European Regional Office of the United Nations administers a small but effective exchange among the European countries through the Advisory Social Welfare Services program. In 1967, for the first time, the United States was asked to participate officially. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare sent a participant to the April Planning Conference in Geneva which was attended by representatives of 24 governments. The Conference reviewed current social problems and policies of interest to the various countries and recommended topics to be included in the European program of seminars and other training meetings during the next 3 years. The United States values highly this direct participation in meetings of European experts, because it offers an opportunity to learn results of innovations in social programs in other countries. The United States continues to share in the work of the U.N. Regional Office Network of Research Correspondents, a clearinghouse initially established to serve social researchers in different European countries.



# Housing, Building, and Planning

Within the U.N. system the U.N. Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning continued to take the lead in trying to improve the world housing situation, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Its efforts were supplemented by those of the U.N. regional economic commissions through their committees or subcommittees on housing, building, and planning.

## ECOSOC ACTION

On June 6, during its 42d session, ECOSOC approved the two resolutions on housing that had been adopted by the Commission for Social Development at its 13th session (see p. 109). ECOSOC also approved two resolutions that had been adopted by the Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning during its 4th session in 1966.

The first of the resolutions proposed by the Committee invited the Center for Housing, Building, and Planning, the regional economic commissions, the specialized agencies, the regional housing centers, and governmental and nongovernmental organizations concerned to strengthen and increase their cooperation in the field of housing, building, and planning.

The second resolution dealt with the urgent problems of rehabilitation and reconstruction following natural disasters. It requested the Secretary-General to give the widest possible distribution to the U.N. report on rehabilitation and reconstruction following natural disasters; to compile a roster of experts who would be available on short notice for disaster assistance; to give high priority to the provision of fellowships for architectural and engineering students undertaking studies on design and construction problems relating to dis-

aster prevention and relief, such as earthquake engineering; to study means of providing more rapid assistance to countries suffering from disaster; and to prepare a series of manuals on disaster relief and rehabilitation.

## COMMITTEE ON HOUSING, BUILDING, AND PLANNING

The discussion at the 5th session of the ECOSOC Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning, which met October 16-27, reflected a certain amount of impatience with the slow progress of the U.N. housing program.

An attempt, strongly supported by the United States, was made to introduce for the first time a system of priorities into the U.N. work program. Projects were placed in three groups: category one, projects of highest priority; category two, projects to be undertaken as resources become available to the Center; and finally, such activities as seminars and study tours. Although more projects were placed in category one than the United States would have preferred, the new work program will enable the U.N. Secretariat to concentrate on the most urgent projects.

The Committee devoted considerable time to the question of launching a worldwide publicity campaign, including the designation of an international housing year and the convening of an international conference at the ministerial level. It became clear in the discussion that the expectations of people in developing countries might be unduly aroused if a publicity campaign did not concentrate on educating the people on ways and means of improving their housing, and if it were not followed by practical action on the part of the governments. It was, therefore, agreed that before launching any worldwide publicity programs, the Secretary-General should approach member states to ascertain their interest in these proposals and to inquire about their

willingness to undertake practical programs in support of them.

Another important subject at the 5th session was the U.N. Institute for Documentation on Housing, Building and Planning, which ECOSOC had decided should be established in New Delhi, India. On the basis of a report by an expert group, the Committee concluded that a 2- or 3-year preparatory period was still necessary, and that such preparatory work should proceed under the direction of an advisory board located in Geneva. Since as a practical matter the United Nations does not appear at this time to be in a position to provide funds for the Institute, the principal current hope for its establishment is that member governments or nongovernmental organizations will provide voluntary contributions.

The Committee unanimously adopted a resolution, cosponsored by Canada, Japan, U.A.R., and the United States, recommending that the world housing survey, required biennially under a 1965 General Assembly resolution, should be undertaken only once every 5 years. In the discussions leading to this conclusion, it was pointed out that wider spaced reports would be in line with economy measures recommended by certain advisory committees of the General Assembly and the ECOSOC. Since the International Labor Office is preparing a world housing report in 1969 concerning the implementation of the Workers' Housing Recommendation it adopted in 1961, the Committee recommended that the U.N. report should first appear in 1973.

It was generally believed, particularly by the developing countries, that more international assistance was needed to improve the worsening housing situation in most countries. It was recognized, however, that it was unlikely that substantial additional international resources could be made available in the near future. This fact, it was thought, heightened the importance of taking all possible steps, par-

ticularly through self-help and mutual aid efforts, to mobilize national resources in attacking the problem. The pilot demonstration program for improving living conditions in squatter settlements and slums (see p. 109) was regarded as particularly important.

#### REGIONAL ACTIVITIES

ECE is the most active U.N. regional commission in the housing field. The United States is a member of its Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning which held its 28th meeting in May. With a view to strengthening its work in the socioeconomic aspects of housing, the Committee decided to create a Subcommittee on Housing, supplementing the two existing Subcommittees on Urban Renewal and Planning, and on the Building Industry.

As usual the Committee undertook an oral review of current trends and policies in the field, supplemented by an exchange of country memoranda and other relevant documents. It was decided that every 5 years the Secretariat should make a comprehensive survey of trends and policies, comparable to that formerly made on an annual basis.

The Committee is now in the process of formulating a long-term program and preparing a new division of responsibilities and work among the three subcommittees and the full Committee. An *ad hoc* committee was established to meet at the beginning of 1968 and prepare recommendations for the next session of the Committee.

At the fourth session of the Subcommittee on Urban Renewal and Planning in February, a number of important projects were discussed, including the economics of urban renewal, green spaces and recreation, and the planning of rural settlements. The United States initiated a proposal for an urban transportation study to follow up a 1966 Amsterdam Seminar on the Future Pattern and Forms of Urban Settlements.

The first session of the new Subcommittee on Housing, convened in September, was confined mainly to a definition of objectives and to an examination of the priorities that should be attached to various projects in carrying out these objectives.

At its third session in late November, the Subcommittee on the Building Industry reviewed the findings of its Paris Seminar on the Building Industry and undertook its periodic review of developments. The Subcommittee has an important project underway on the use of electronic computers, is undertaking an important new project on problems of building maintenance and modernization, and is completing a provisional directory of public authorities and principal organizations relating to the building industry which will cover all of Europe.

In Latin America an Interregional Seminar on Rural Housing and Community Facilities was held in Venezuela in April. Over 70 working papers were submitted to the Seminar. Following a wide-ranging discussion, the Seminar adopted a number of recommendations, the most important of which were to the effect that governments should give more attention to the provision of housing, community facilities, and services in rural areas. In the summer of 1967, a Latin American Seminar on Prefabrication of Houses was held in Denmark. Over 30 working papers were submitted on the pros and cons of prefabrication and its applicability to various situations.

The ECLA secretariat completed during the year an analysis of the housing problem in Latin America in relation to structural development factors. This analysis was subsequently used in a course in housing programming held at the Latin American Institute for Economic and Social Planning.

In Africa U.N. regional experts carried out in Nairobi, Kenya, a sub-regional training course on self-help

housing and are planning another for housing management. The possibilities of establishing regional or sub-regional housing and research centers are being explored.

## Narcotic Drugs

The United States became a party to the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961, when it deposited its instrument of accession with the U.N. Secretary-General on May 25, 1967. The Convention, which entered into force for the United States on June 24, terminates and replaces as between the parties thereto eight existing multilateral agreements in their entirety, and the provisions of one article in a ninth agreement. It reduces the number of treaty organs exclusively concerned with the control of narcotic drugs and provides for a comprehensive system of control of the cultivation of the opium poppy, cannabis, and coca leaves.

The United States was represented by H. J. Anslinger, U.S. Representative to the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, at a meeting of the U.N. Consultative Group on Opium Problems, which met at New Delhi, India, October 9-21 to consider measures that individual countries could take against the illicit drug traffic.

The 22d session of the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs, originally scheduled for December 1967, was postponed until January 1968.

## U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees

The basic function of the UNHCR is to provide legal and political protection to refugees within the UNHCR mandate, i.e., within the scope of the statute of the Office. In addition the UNHCR, in collaboration with governments and private

organizations, conducts assistance programs promoting solutions to problems of needy refugees within his mandate through voluntary repatriation or their assimilation within new national communities. The UNHCR also uses his good offices (under authority contained in several General Assembly resolutions) in similarly assisting refugees who have not been determined to be within the UNHCR mandate. The UNHCR has interpreted these resolutions as precluding UNHCR assistance to refugees displaced within their own countries or having the right of nationality within their countries of asylum.

#### **UNHCR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**

The UNHCR Executive Committee reviews and supervises the High Commissioner's activities. During 1967 the Executive Committee held its 17th session (May 22-30) and 18th session (October 30-November 7). The Representatives of the U.S. Government on the Committee at these sessions were, respectively, Ambassador Roger Tubby and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State David H. Popper.

At its 18th session, the Committee decided after considerable debate to hold only one regular session each year, in the fall. This decision conformed with a resolution adopted by the 21st General Assembly which in effect recommended that U.N. organs reduce their total meeting time to the extent possible. The Committee's decision in this matter resulted largely from the vigorous and persuasive leadership of the U.S. Representative. He emphasized that the United States, firmly supporting UNHCR objectives, considers that the reduction of regular meetings would promote rather than prejudice the effectiveness of UNHCR activities, since it would allow for more concentration of resources on performance. At the same time he pointed out that a number of special procedures are available for obtain-

ing Committee decisions on important matters such as emergency refugee situations that arise between regular Committee sessions. These arguments helped to allay concern that the proposed reduction in the number of meetings might be construed as a lessening of interest in UNHCR activities.

#### **LEGAL AND POLITICAL PROTECTION**

The principal responsibility of the High Commissioner is to use the prestige and authority of his Office and of the United Nations to secure necessary, effective arrangements with governmental authorities for the legal and political protection of refugees within the UNHCR mandate. A primary tool for this is the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which prohibits the forcible return of refugees to territories where their life or freedom would be threatened. The Convention also sets forth numerous guarantees designed to improve the legal, political, economic, and social status of refugees, thus facilitating their reestablishment on a basis of self-support and individual dignity. The High Commissioner is charged with encouraging further accessions to the Convention, supervising its application in states that have acceded to it, and promoting the constructive development or implementation of pertinent national legislative and administrative measures. During 1967 two additional countries—Nigeria and Malagasy Republic—signed the Convention, bringing the total by the end of the year to 53.

Early in 1967 the Secretary-General, acting upon a request by the General Assembly, transmitted to states the text of the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees with a view to enabling them to accede to it. The Protocol—a separate instrument from the Convention—embraces all of the substantive provisions of the Convention but removes the eligibility provision which limits application of the Convention to persons becoming refugees as a result of events occurring

before January 1, 1951. In practice it has thus far been possible to establish a causal link between new refugee problems and events which occurred prior to 1951. The Protocol, however, is considered by the General Assembly as a more enduring expression of the universality of the intention of the Convention as a U.N. instrument. The Protocol came into force on October 4, 1967, with the accession of the sixth state—Sweden. Nine states had acceded to the Protocol by the end of the year.

The UNHCR maintains a Legal Assistance Program, which is related both to protection efforts and the assistance program. Through this program approximately 15,000 refugees received specialized legal assistance during 1967 on individual problems connected with efforts to secure their reestablishment.

The High Commissioner, under agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany, administers certain indemnification funds provided by the Federal Republic for refugees who were persecuted for reasons of nationality under Hitler's National Socialist regime. Such a fund, amounting to approximately \$11 million, was established in 1960 and prior to 1966 had been disbursed by the UNHCR to some 12,000 individuals in 35 countries. Persons who had acquired a new nationality before October 1, 1953, or who became refugees after that date were not eligible to apply for benefits under the terms of the 1960 fund. A further grant from the German Government allowed the establishment in December 1966 of a new fund of approximately \$875,000 to benefit persons who were ineligible under the earlier fund. By the end of 1967 the UNHCR had received 740 applications under this new fund, of which 223 had been approved, 83 disapproved, and 434 were still in process. In 1967 approximately \$45,000 was disbursed under the new fund.

The United States, together with a majority of the members of the Execu-

tive Committee, has consistently stressed that the legal and political protection function is of overriding importance among the High Commissioner's responsibilities, and that effective performance in this field is essential to meaningful effort in UNHCR Material Assistance programs. This position was reiterated by the United States at each of the 1967 sessions of the Executive Committee and at the 22d session of the General Assembly. Particular emphasis was placed on the importance of vigilance and firm action by the UNHCR in using the prestige of his Office for effective intervention with governments toward ensuring that no political refugee is returned against his will to his country of origin.

Moreover, it was stressed that continuing public recognition should be placed on the UNHCR responsibility for securing adequate rights and status for refugees to whom asylum has been accorded. These include the rights to hold gainful employment; to acquire property; to travel freely; to participate in the benefits of national education, social security, unemployment compensation, public welfare, and other programs; and to have access to and the protection of courts. Given these rights, refugees have the opportunity to become self-supporting and to live in dignity within asylum or third countries. In the absence of such rights, refugee assistance programs can degenerate into permanent relief programs, offering no essential human values for the refugees, fostering their deterioration, and permitting political manipulation or abandonment of responsibility by concerned governments.

Especially in the light of mounting requirements in certain regions for UNHCR material assistance in meeting new refugee problems; it was emphasized that the dominant importance of international protection in all areas should be constantly kept in the forefront.

## THE CURRENT PROGRAM

The Current Program is designed to enable the UNHCR to assist countries of asylum in coping with the problems of new refugees (both those within the UNHCR mandate and those assisted under the good offices function). The UNHCR Executive Committee, at its 16th session in October 1966, established an overall ceiling of nearly \$4.6 million for the 1967 program and approved projects in commensurate amounts. The Committee raised this ceiling to \$4.85 million at its 17th session and approved further projects to that level in an effort to meet newly developing refugee problems, chiefly in Africa. The United States contributed \$400,000 to the 1967 program and provided foodstuffs having a value of over \$1 million in direct support of UNHCR programs, thereby helping reduce UNHCR budgetary requirements.

In Europe the Current Program helped to integrate in the countries of asylum many refugees from Eastern Europe who did not wish or were unable to emigrate further. These measures contributed to the success of the collective international effort to reestablish on a self-supporting basis a sufficient number of the newly arriving mandate refugees to prevent an increased accumulation of dependent refugees in asylum countries.

The Arab-Israeli conflict in June affected the relatively small number of refugees on the UNHCR caseload in that area. Allocations for assistance projects administered by UNHCR Branch Offices in Beirut and Cairo were increased substantially during the year, and a number of refugees of concern to the UNHCR left the area to seek asylum in Europe. The Palestinian Arab refugees, who have been assisted since 1948 by UNRWA and its predecessor U.N. agency, are not within the concern of the UNHCR because the Statute of the Office of the UNHCR, as set forth by the General Assembly in 1950, specifically provides that the UNHCR

competence shall not extend to refugees who continue to receive protection or assistance from other U.N. organs or agencies.

In the Far East, UNHCR assistance in the reestablishment of European refugees arriving in Hong Kong was sharply reduced during 1967 because few movements from Communist China took place. Under the good offices function, the UNHCR undertook for the first time a project for Tibetan refugees in India and continued to assist Tibetans in Nepal. Assistance projects for Chinese refugees in Macau could be implemented only in part because of the disturbances that broke out there in early 1967.

Nearly 60 percent of the resources of the 1967 UNHCR Current Program were applied toward meeting refugee problems in Africa. UNHCR African assistance operations are designed to reestablish the refugees within the asylum countries, chiefly through agricultural settlement projects, and to meet their emergency and interim needs. The asylum countries provide the land and meet certain of the other costs involved, and in some instances the benefits of these new communities are extended to indigenous residents of the area. The UNHCR continued to provide assistance for (1) refugees from Rwanda in Burundi, the Congo (Kinshasa), Tanzania, and Uganda; (2) refugees from the Sudan in the Congo (Kinshasa), Uganda, and the Central African Republic; (3) refugees from Mozambique in Tanzania and Zambia; (4) refugees from Portuguese Guinea in Senegal; (5) refugees from Angola in the Congo (Kinshasa) and Zambia; and (6) refugees from the Congo (Kinshasa) in Burundi, the Central African Republic, Tanzania, and Uganda. During 1967, at the request of the countries of asylum, the UNHCR also provided assistance from its Emergency Fund (see below) in behalf of Sudanese refugees in the Congo (Kinshasa), and refugees from Ethiopia in the Sudan.

In an attempt to further a comprehensive and cohesive approach to the refugee problem in Africa, the UNHCR cosponsored a conference held in Addis Ababa in October which was attended by representatives of 22 African governments as well as by intergovernmental bodies and voluntary agencies. The other cosponsoring organizations were ECA, the Organization of African Unity, and the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation—a Swedish voluntary organization. The Conference considered a wide range of problems relating to the legal, economic, and social aspects of African refugee problems, and adopted specific recommendations on many of them to be submitted to African governments and other concerned authorities. The recommendations constituted an enumeration of principles for a common standard of treatment of refugees in Africa and provided guidelines for future material assistance efforts.

Another important UNHCR initiative in assistance to African refugees was the decision to make primary schooling an integral part of all UNHCR-sponsored settlements. In addition a UNHCR Educational Account was established at the end of 1966 to serve as a focal point for contributions toward primary education for African refugees, as well as post-primary education not covered by existing U.N. programs. During 1967 government and private sources contributed \$378,000 to this account.

#### **COOPERATION WITH OTHER U.N. BODIES**

Cooperation between the UNHCR and the U.N. specialized agencies was further strengthened in 1967. Because many of the Rwandan refugees in Burundi had attained self-sufficiency, the UNHCR planned a substantial reduction of its program there, provided that the facilities established in Burundi could be incorporated in the regional development programs of the UNDP. Although subsequent problems forced postponement of the

planned arrangement until 1969, it brought into focus the close relationship of the UNHCR and UNDP programs—a relationship reflected in the 22d General Assembly's decision that the High Commissioner should be invited to attend meetings of the UNDP Inter-Agency Consultative Board.

As in previous years, the UNHCR during 1967 benefited from the cooperation of other members of the U.N. system. In several countries FAO and ILO supplied technical advice in establishing rural settlements, while the World Food Program provided foodstuffs until the refugees could produce their own food.

The U.S. Representatives to the Executive Committee constantly urged the closest possible coordination between the UNHCR and other multilateral or private organizations in order to promote larger resources and greater flexibility in resolving refugee problems, stimulate broader development programs, and avoid duplication of effort.

#### **THE EMERGENCY FUND**

The \$500,000 UNHCR Emergency Fund established by a 1958 General Assembly resolution is an indispensable instrument of the High Commissioner and is regularly replenished through repayments of refugee housing loans made under previous UNHCR programs. The United States has consistently encouraged the UNHCR to draw upon the Fund for emergency refugee problems that arise between Executive Committee sessions. During 1967 the High Commissioner expended \$196,395 from the Fund for such purposes, of which \$156,000 was applied to assistance projects in Africa.

#### **GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION**

A resolution adopted in 1962 by the General Assembly decided that the Office of the UNHCR should be continued through December 31, 1968. On December 11, at its 22d session,

the Assembly decided by a vote of 96 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions, that the Office should be continued for a further period of 5 years from January 1, 1969. The same resolution expressed concern at the ever-increasing number of refugees, particularly in Africa; recognized the continuing need for international action and increased contributions by governments on behalf of refugees; commended the High Commissioner for his efforts in finding satisfactory solutions to problems affecting groups of refugees who are his concern; decided that the High Commissioner should be invited to attend the meetings of the Inter-Agency Consultative Board of the UNDP; and authorized ECOSOC to enlarge the membership of the UNHCR Executive Committee to include at least one more African state. ECOSOC subsequently elected Uganda to the UNHCR Executive Committee as its 31st member.

## U.N. Children's Fund

On October 27 President Johnson proclaimed October 31 of every year as National UNICEF Day, "in honor of this great humanitarian enterprise," and called on the American people and the people of all countries to support UNICEF to the limits of their ability, both through private efforts and through their governments.

Later, on December 11, the U.S. Committee for UNICEF demonstrated the popular support of U.S. citizens by bringing together representatives of many nongovernmental organizations to pay their tribute on the occasion of UNICEF's 21st anniversary. Secretary-General U Thant and members of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations, headed by Ambassador Goldberg, took part in the celebration.

### SCOPE OF UNICEF AID

At the suggestion of the Swedish delegation, supported by the United

States, the UNICEF Executive Board reviewed UNICEF assistance policies at its meeting in New York, June 12-20. In general, the Board approved the present system of UNICEF assistance. It agreed that UNICEF aid should focus on long-term projects benefiting children and youth that are related to the development plans of the various countries concerned. It agreed that countries must determine their own priorities, but, even more important, it adopted the U.S. view that countries must be helped to determine what are the real priorities. In this respect, it decided that the UNICEF secretariat and the specialized agencies, as well as the Board, have the responsibility for ensuring that UNICEF resources are directed to high priority needs. At the same time, the Board recognized that UNICEF will have to continue to respond to emergency situations and to devote some of its resources to emergency aid.

In the light of the Board's approval of directing aid to high priority areas, it was not surprising that it did not approve expanding UNICEF operations into two new areas—the control of helminth (worm) infestation in children and the control and treatment of dental disease. Although both these areas are major child health problems, their pursuit would have to be at the expense of other problems considered more urgent.

### PROGRAM EVALUATION

Each year the Board has before it an extensive review and appraisal of one or more program areas. These reviews are accomplished through various mechanisms, but are usually prepared by a team of international experts from outside the U.N. system. In 1967 the Board considered the applied nutrition programs and the maternal and child health services.

The Board's review of the applied nutrition programs was based on an assessment prepared by a U.S. con-



sultant. The main conclusion of the assessment was that these programs represent a basically sound approach to improving the nutritional status of rural families. The assessment also pointed out certain weaknesses as well as strengths in executing the programs, and the Board agreed that there should be a more flexible planning and implementation of individual projects taking into account the special conditions and opportunities in different countries.

Since a large share of the UNICEF resources goes into maternal and child health services, a continuing appraisal of this program is essential. The 1967 review—the fifth that has been made—was based on studies in six countries by five consultants, plus material from regional WHO offices. The report concluded generally that these programs are valuable but that they are inadequate both in extent of coverage and in standards of care. It noted also that the absence of vital statistics hindered both planning and evaluation.

No adequate figures exist on the extent of coverage by these services, but the best informed opinion is that no more than 5 percent of the mothers and children in developing countries are being aided by organized services. The Board recognized that it will be many years before a network of professionally staffed health centers will be able to service most of the developing countries, and that in the meantime the majority of children are without adequate care. It concluded that new and more flexible ways were urgently needed to extend health services to the neglected populations, chiefly rural, in the developing countries.

#### **ROLE OF UNICEF IN FAMILY PLANNING**

When family planning was presented to the Board as an integral part of good maternal and child health services, all opposition to UNICEF aid in this area vanished. Upon

request UNICEF will now assist countries whenever family planning is a part of maternal and child health services. WHO will review and recommend proposals for assistance within this context. Thus UNICEF has now adopted the policy of aid in family planning.

#### **PROGRAM AID**

At its 1967 Board session, UNICEF approved assistance to 251 projects (225 continuations or extensions and 26 new projects). The total number of countries now being assisted is 119. Commitments for these projects and for emergency aid for drought relief in India and war relief in the Middle East and elsewhere brought the total commitments for 1967 to \$46.9 million, the highest level of UNICEF assistance since its early years of emergency relief.

In spite of the Arab-Israeli war, which coincided with the Executive Board meeting, political issues did not throw the discussions off balance. Requests for aid for the U.A.R. and Syria were discussed on their merits and approved. Immediate emergency aid to the extent of \$200,000 was provided for mothers and children in Jordan who were victims of military activity, and an additional \$300,000 was authorized to be used as needed for mothers and children anywhere in the area. Later, in December, a poll by mail requested \$512,000 for health and education purposes in Syria, Jordan (East Bank), Jordan (West Bank), Gaza, Sinai, and U.A.R.

The Board also approved four projects for long-term assistance amounting to \$572,000 for the Republic of Viet-Nam. The projects included programs of health assistance, tuberculosis control, social services, and education and were approved by consensus after some opposition from the U.S.S.R.

The greatest increase in program expenditure was in aid to education which constituted 31 percent of all

project allocations. The acceleration in aid to education which has taken place since 1961 reflects the concern of the developing countries in all regions to raise the educational level of their people and to adapt education to the life prospects of the children. The greatest emphasis in UNICEF aid was on teacher training and improved supervision. UNICEF also furnished extensive assistance in the local production of textbooks by providing paper.

#### FINANCIAL SITUATION

The Executive Director, Henry Labouisse, continued to press countries for greater contributions, with some success. Thirty-five countries announced increased contributions for 1967 over 1966. To commemorate the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to UNICEF in 1965, the United States made a special \$1 million contribution for 1967 which was over and above the \$12 million pledge that is contingent on not being more than 40 percent of total government contributions. UNICEF's income for 1967 was \$38.5 million of which \$28.4 million or 74 percent came from 123 governments, and the rest came from private contributions and other sources. The

continuing voluntary support of the American public is reflected by the size of the annual check turned over to UNICEF by the U.S. Committee. In 1967 this amounted to about \$5.5 million, the proceeds from the Halloween Trick or Treat collection and from the sales of UNICEF greeting cards.

By making program commitments of nearly \$47 million in 1967, UNICEF materially reduced the size of its operating funds on hand, in accordance with a U.S. recommendation at the 1966 Board meeting.

#### MEETING IN LATIN AMERICA

On the invitation of the Government of Chile, the Executive Board agreed to meet in Santiago in 1969, thus adding Latin America to the list of developing areas visited by the Board. In 1964 the Board considered the problems of the Asian child while meeting in Bangkok, and in 1966 it reviewed the needs of the African child while meeting in Addis Ababa. The meeting in Chile will give Board members an opportunity to visit a number of Latin American countries and observe the needs of children there and the ways these needs are being met.

## Scientific Cooperation

Increasing international cooperation in the field of science is reflected in many of the activities undertaken by the United Nations and the organizations within its broad official family. This particular section presents a brief review of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, and those scientific

interests and activities of ECOSOC and the General Assembly that are not dealt with elsewhere in the present report.

Other sections that contain extensive material on scientific cooperation are those on Outer Space (p. 10), Seabed and Ocean Floor (p. 15), FAO (p. 155), UNESCO (p. 161), WHO (p. 165), ITU (p. 172), WMO (p. 175), and IAEA (p. 177).

# Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development

## EDIBLE PROTEIN

The problem of increasing and improving the production and human consumption of edible protein was considered by the Committee at its seventh session, held in New York, May 1-5. The Committee unanimously adopted a report, "Feeding the Expanding World Population: Recommendations for International Action to Avert the Impending Protein Crisis," for submission to ECOSOC.

The report pointed out that, while the quantity of food was a matter of considerable concern in many areas, the quality of food as reflected in the consumption pattern was even more critical. The report stressed that protein deficiency already had serious consequences for the health and working efficiency of the populations of developing countries, and that a worsening of this situation could arrest the physical, economic, social, and political development of the populations involved. Particular reference was made to the increasingly accepted evidence that inadequate protein supply during early childhood years results in permanent physical and mental impairment.

The report contained seven policy objectives to guide the work of closing the protein gap. Three objectives emphasized the Committee's belief that, because the largest volume of protein for the foreseeable future must come from conventional plant, animal, and fishery sources, this production and conservation should receive first emphasis. The other four objectives expressed the Committee's belief that over the long-term conventional sources must be supplemented by unconventional sources

such as oilseed protein concentrates, fish protein concentrates, synthetic amino acids to improve the quality of protein in cereals and other vegetable sources, and single cell protein for both animal feeding and direct use by man.

The report made 14 specific proposals for work on such matters as livestock production, fishery development, and research into single cell protein sources. Recognizing that U.N. organizations were already carrying out a wide variety of activities in these fields, the Committee recommended that this work be increased under the guidance and coordination of an expanded WHO/FAO/UNICEF Protein Advisory Group. To supplement existing financial resources, the Committee further recommended the creation of a special Protein Promotion Fund to be financed by voluntary contributions from interested U.N. members and administered by the UNDP.

## ECOSOC Consideration

At its 43d session ECOSOC considered the Committee's report, but because of its financial implications, primarily the proposed establishment of the Protein Promotion Fund, declined to approve the report as a whole. Instead, in a resolution adopted August 2, ECOSOC noted the report with appreciation, requested the Secretary-General to draw its recommendations to the attention of members of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, and invited U.N. agencies, particularly the UNDP, to give favorable consideration to requests from developing countries for increased assistance on projects in this field. ECOSOC also recommended that WHO, FAO, and UNICEF examine the feasibility of expanding their Joint Protein Advisory Group. Finally, ECOSOC requested that the Secretary-General, drawing as appropriate on the advice of the Advisory Committee, undertake a review of the present and pro-

posed programs of U.N. organizations with a view to a possible reallocation of resources directed toward implementation of proposals for closing the protein gap, report to the 45th ECOSOC on the existing situation, and make recommendations for further action.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The United States was one of 20 cosponsors of a resolution on this subject adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 15. The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) endorsed the ECOSOC resolution; (2) welcomed the policy objectives and technical aspects of the Advisory Committee's report; (3) requested governments to inform the Secretary-General by July 1, 1968, of present or proposed activities by government, industry, agriculture, universities, scientific and technological institutes, and other interested organizations related to improving the production and human consumption of protein; (4) called for improved coordination within the U.N. system on this question; (5) invited the FAO, WHO, UNICEF, and other organizations concerned to assist governments in developing UNDP and UNICEF projects for increasing the supply and human consumption of protein; and (6) requested the Secretary-General to report through ECOSOC to the General Assembly on implementation of this resolution.

#### SCIENCE EDUCATION

At its eighth session, held in Paris, November 13-24, the Advisory Committee's principal item for consideration was science education. Following a discussion of studies submitted by a consultant and a working group, the Committee concluded that the main attack on the problem of science education should be made at the secondary, primary, and pre-school levels. It accordingly recommended four steps:

(1) the UNESCO Division of Sci-

ence Education should be expanded and its pilot project for teaching the basic sciences should be continued and extended on a regional basis, particularly by relating the Division's activities to teacher training programs supported by other U.N. bodies;

(2) a working party of 20 to 30 experts from both developed and developing countries should be convened, preferably during 1968, under the joint auspices of the Advisory Committee and UNESCO to draw up an authoritative report on the content and methods of secondary and pre-secondary science education;

(3) an international center for science teaching development and demonstration should be created, preferably affiliated with the UNESCO Division of Science Education; and

(4) reports bearing on science education published by UNESCO and the Advisory Committee should be widely circulated.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION

The Advisory Committee at its eighth session also considered and endorsed a report prepared by WHO on environmental pollution, especially the report's recommendation for the establishment of a network of research centers, regional institutes of applied research and training, and an international center for the collection and dissemination of information on environmental pollution.

## U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

UNSCEAR was established by the General Assembly in 1955 to foster and maintain continuing scientific evaluation of data concerning the effects of ionizing radiation upon man and his environment. It held its 17th

session in Geneva, August 28–September 6. The U.S. Representative was Dr. Richard H. Chamberlain, Director, Department of Radiology, University of Pennsylvania.

At this session UNSCEAR considered new data on radioactive contamination of the environment, the physical and biological assumptions used by the Committee to estimate the radiation doses to man as a result of nuclear weapons tests, effects of ionizing radiation on the nervous system, and the introduction of chromosome anomalies in somatic cells. It decided to prepare its third comprehensive report for submission to the General Assembly at its 24th session in 1969. (Earlier comprehensive reports were submitted in 1958 and 1962.)

After considering UNSCEAR's report on its 17th session, the General Assembly on October 25 adopted unanimously a resolution that commended UNSCEAR for the valuable contributions it has made to man's understanding of the effects and levels of atomic radiation; commended the WMO for its work in carrying forward the scheme for monitoring and reporting levels of atmospheric radioactivity; expressed its appreciation for the assistance given UNSCEAR by the specialized agencies, the IAEA, and the nongovernmental organizations concerned; and requested UNSCEAR to continue its program, including its coordinating activities, to increase the knowledge of the levels and effects of atomic radiation from all sources.

## Other Questions Relating to Science and Technology

### DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES

In 1966 the Secretary-General proposed a 5-year survey program on the development of natural resources. The

program would consist of surveys of resources in three basic fields—minerals, water, and energy—and was conceived as an important contribution to strengthening the economic bases of the developing countries during the second half of the Development Decade. ECOSOC had welcomed this initiative and requested the Secretary-General, with the assistance of three groups of experts (one for each of the resources to be surveyed) and in consultation with governments and certain U.N. organs and organizations, to make a full report on the implementation of a long-term survey program. The General Assembly at its 21st session endorsed the action of ECOSOC.

In 1967 the Secretary-General convened the three consultant groups to formulate broad outlines for the surveys. On the basis of these outlines the Secretary-General submitted his report to ECOSOC during its 42d session. On June 1 ECOSOC approved the outlines and created a 22-state *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Survey Program for the Development of Natural Resources. The United States is a member of this committee which was directed to (1) review the preparatory work for carrying out the survey programs and related problems of coordination with the relevant U.N. organizations; (2) analyze the survey program including the different stages of the implementation of its three components; and (3) assess ways and means of financing the survey program.

ECOSOC further recommended that the 22d General Assembly provide funds from its regular budget for the administrative costs of starting the survey program.

The *Ad Hoc* Committee held a series of meetings, but had not completed its recommendations by the time the General Assembly reached this item on its agenda. Accordingly, the Assembly took no action on this matter during its 22d session, although the U.N. budget it approved allocated \$120,500 to begin work on the surveys.

Subsequently the *Ad Hoc* Committee completed its recommendations which were approved by the resumed ECOSOC in a resolution of December 18. This resolution requested the Secretary-General to continue with the preparatory work on the surveys and, in particular, to:

(1) develop a general methodology for the assessment of mineral, water, and energy resources;

(2) set up general standards for the collection and evaluation of data;

(3) consult with countries, various U.N. organizations, and the regional economic commissions to determine the availability of bibliographic material on the resources under review and the institutional arrangements for organizing and assessing the resource data;

(4) establish, on the basis of the foregoing and of available data,

(a) a preliminary estimate of the geologic and mineral potential of interested developing countries;

(b) a preliminary selection of water-short areas in interested developing countries and estimates of their needs and resources;

(c) a preliminary selection of international rivers with a potential for development for which their riparian states are interested in cooperating;

(d) a preliminary estimate of the energy needs and resources in interested developing countries;

(5) assist interested governments in the development of field investigation projects.

ECOSOC directed that this preparatory work be conducted so as to lead to the development of plans of action suitable for all developing countries, and that the surveys be formulated so as to identify projects for financing by the UNDP.

Finally, ECOSOC requested the *Ad Hoc* Committee (1) to consider further desirable steps for implementing

the survey program as the result of the preparatory work to be undertaken by the Secretary-General, (2) to continue its efforts, and (3) to submit reports as necessary.

## MARINE RESOURCES

### U.N. Surveys

During 1967 the U.N. Secretary-General launched two surveys in the field of marine science that were the result of U.S. initiatives. The first survey, requested by ECOSOC in a resolution of March 7, 1966, was of the present knowledge of and techniques for exploiting the mineral and food resources (excluding fish) of the sea beyond the Continental Shelf. Two Americans, Frank Wang of the U.S. Geological Survey and C. B. Idyll of the University of Miami, were appointed to prepare the survey in cooperation with the U.N. Secretariat.

The second survey, requested by the General Assembly in a resolution of December 6, 1966, was of activities in marine science and technology undertaken by U.N. organizations, governments, universities, scientific institutions, and other interested organizations. As a result of this survey the Secretary-General was requested to formulate proposals (1) to further international arrangements for an expanded program of international cooperation and (2) to strengthen marine education and training programs.

As requested by the General Assembly resolution, the Secretary-General appointed a group of experts to assist him in his task. This group held its first meeting at WMO Headquarters in Geneva, June 15-21, under the chairmanship of Dr. John Lyman, special consultant for the United Nations in marine science and formerly an oceanographer with the U.S. National Science Foundation and the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries.

The meeting was attended by experts and observers from the United Nations, the specialized agencies, in-

tergovernmental organizations, other international agencies, and individual experts invited in their private capacity. Two Americans attending as marine science experts were Henry A. Arnold of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development and Dr. Warren S. Wooster of Scripps Institution of Oceanography, La Jolla, California.

The group drafted an outline for the report and approved a questionnaire on marine science and technology designed to get information on national activities and on the need for increased international efforts and coordination. A first draft of the report based on early replies to the questionnaire was sent to the group of experts in December for comments. The final report will be issued in 1968.

#### **Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC)**

The 21st General Assembly resolution described above had a strong impact on the program of the IOC in 1967. At a meeting of its Bureau and Consultative Council in Monaco, January 30–February 2, it established a working group on the intergovernmental aspects of the implementation of this resolution and on further development of IOC activities.

At a meeting at The Hague, September 18–20, the working group affirmed that the IOC had an important role in identifying legal impediments to scientific research and recommended that the IOC establish a special working group to identify these impediments. It also reaffirmed the importance and urgency of developing a general plan for the establishment of synoptic oceanographic services.

At its fifth session, in Paris, October 19–28, the IOC established a Working Group on Legal Questions Related to Scientific Investigation of the Ocean and a permanent Working Committee for an Integrated Global Ocean Station System to plan and coordinate an IOC program of studies

and services in oceanic areas. (For other action with respect to marine science see Part I, pp. 15–18.)

#### **WATER RESOURCES**

In response to a 1966 ECOSOC request the Secretary-General prepared a report on progress in water desalination with special reference to developments in 1966. He reported that during the year 17 desalination plants with a total capacity of 11,075,000 gallons per day were completed and 29 more were either approved or under construction. When completed, the capacity of these 29, estimated at 203,683,800 gallons a day, will exceed by far the total capacity of all desalination plants now in operation throughout the world.

In view of the fact that water shortages are likely to become even more acute in the future as a result of the increase in population, irrigation, and industrialization, the Secretary-General recommended that the United Nations intensify its activities in this field and proposed three priority studies to be added to the work program approved in 1966:

- (1) a study of the methods for the determination of water demand and water demand forecasting;
- (2) a study of the utilization of local energy sources for desalination; for example, geothermal and oil-shale energy and the burning of refuse; and
- (3) a study of foreign exchange aspects of different desalination processes.

On May 26 the 42d ECOSOC approved the additions to the work program, invited member states to provide support, and requested the Secretary-General to cooperate with the specialized agencies and IAEA in intensifying U.N. work on desalination.

From May 23 to 31 the International Conference on Water for Peace, originally proposed by President Johnson in October 1965, was held in Washington under the sponsorship of

the U.S. Government. The Conference was attended by 94 countries and 24 international organizations, including the United Nations, FAO, IAEA, IBRD, ECA, ECAFE, ECLA, UNDP, UNESCO, WHO, and WMO.

The Conference was carried out on both a ministerial and a technical level, and brought together experts and decision makers for discussion on common or similar aspects of water problems. It was not a negotiating conference, but was designed as a forum for the discussion of the water problems of people and nations. It served as a planning session to encourage concrete action by individual nations and by international organizations and nations working together. As such, it provided the mechanism for direct discovery of problems in common, and for an exchange of views on solutions to these problems.

It was the first conference to deal with the whole spectrum of water problems and needs and covered such aspects as ways to expand water supply through desalting, weather control, watershed management, and reuse; identification and control of pollution; impact of technology on future water policy and development; education and training for water development programs; organizing for national programs; comprehensive river basin development; problems associated with different climatic zones; and financing water development.

The Conference provided the stimulus for a number of subsequent seminars, both international and domestic, on water problems, and has provided through its series of 50 detailed country situation papers and other documentation some basic materials for the involvement of studies and programs by international organizations. It also served as the catalyst for the creation of an international, nongovernmental organization of water lawyers, which was founded at the

Conference and scheduled its first meeting for 1968 in Spain.

#### **FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY**

The General Assembly had adopted a resolution in 1965 noting with satisfaction the contributions made by the Third International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held in 1964, and deciding to consider at its 22d session the question of holding further conferences on this subject.

On October 13 the question was taken up by the U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee, which advises the Secretary-General on all matters relating to the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The Committee noted that major advances, promising to affect most of the population of the world, had been made with respect to atomic energy and its applications since 1964. Expressing the belief that the impact of these advances will concern public officials, economists, and planners, as well as technologists, the Committee unanimously recommended that the United Nations, with the full cooperation of the IAEA, hold a fourth international conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy in 1970 or 1971. The Secretary-General endorsed the recommendation of the Committee and referred it to the General Assembly for consideration.

On December 13 the General Assembly by a vote of 86 to 0, with 4 abstentions, adopted a resolution sponsored by Canada and the United States which declared that a fourth international conference would be advantageous in promoting the peaceful uses of atomic energy and should accordingly be convened by the United Nations with the fullest possible participation of the IAEA. The Assembly then requested the Secretary-General, with the assistance of the Scientific Advisory Committee, in cooperation



with the IAEA, and in consultation with appropriate specialized agencies, to prepare plans for the conference to be held in 1970 or 1971; to provide for a somewhat shorter conference than those held in 1955, 1958, and 1964; to draft an agenda that would be of interest to public officials, economists, and planners, as well as technologists; and to report to the General Assembly at its 23d session. Finally, the resolution invited states members of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA to participate in the conference.

#### **CARTOGRAPHY**

The Fifth U.N. Regional Cartographic Conference for Asia and the Far East met in Canberra, Australia, March 8–22. A total of 137 representatives from 30 countries attended, 17 from the region, and 13 from other regions. Twelve representatives from international scientific organizations, intergovernmental organizations, and U.N. specialized agencies also attended. The U.S. delegation was chaired by Col. Robert E. Herndon, USAF, of the Directorate for Mapping, Charting, and Geodesy, Department of Defense.

The Conference reflected a strong interest in the full utilization of maps, especially as they may be applied to economic development. For example, the Conference demonstrated the use of topical mapping to facilitate the exploitation of water resources, agriculture, forestry, power development, and mining. Other principal topics discussed were the use of hydrographic charts for safer navigation; aeronautical charts for air transport operation; and specialized surveying and mapping to study earthquakes, tsunamis, and ocean currents. Resolutions were adopted on geodesy, topography, topical cartography, general cartography, hydrography, and oceanography. Iran extended an invitation to hold the Sixth Conference in Tehran in 1970.

Following a 1965 decision by ECOSOC to convene a conference on geographical names, the First U.N. Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names met in Geneva, September 4–22. Fifty-four countries encompassing all areas of the world were represented at the Conference; official representatives, including observers, numbered 110. Dr. Meredith F. Burrill, Director, Office of Geography, Department of the Interior, chaired the U.S. delegation and was elected president of the Conference.

The primary objective of the Conference was to establish an international forum where national programs on geographical designations could be examined and principles formulated that could lead to international standards for designating geographical names or entities. To attain this objective the Conference exchanged information on national programs and policies, identified topics, areas, and categories of names that merit further study, formulated principles applying to the transliteration from one writing system to another, and considered the establishment of systems for international standardization based upon the Cyrillic and Arabic alphabets. Regional groupings of countries were established to coordinate standardization of names for geographic entities extending beyond the sovereignty of a single country. The Conference adopted a series of resolutions on national standardization, automatic data processing, exchange of information, technical assistance, regional meetings, and transliteration of names between alphabets and languages. The Conference recommended the establishment of a U.N. Commission of Geographic Names to act as a coordinating and liaison body. It also recommended convening a Second U.N. Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names to be held not later than 1970.

# Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

## Accession to Supplementary Slavery Convention

The most important development in the human rights field for the United States in 1967 was its accession to the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery. The Senate unanimously consented to accession on November 2, and the accession was approved by the President on November 9. The United States deposited its accession with the U.N. Secretary-General on December 6. The Convention, which was drafted in 1956 at a U.N. conference attended by the United States, is intended to supplement an earlier slavery convention to which the United States became a party in 1929.

The Convention requires that states parties to it take all practicable and necessary legislative and other measures to bring about the abolition or abandonment of certain institutions and practices akin to slavery where they still exist. These institutions and practices include debt bondage, serfdom, delivery of children by parents or guardians to others for purposes of exploitation, involuntary marriage or transfer of women, and transfer of widows as inherited property. States that still have practices such as involuntary marriage and transfer of women undertake to prescribe suitable minimum ages of marriage, adequate safeguards for assuring the consent of both parties to a marriage, and the registration of marriages.

Other articles of the convention provide that the slave trade should be prohibited, that the act of enslaving

another person should be a criminal offense, and that any slave taking refuge on board a vessel of a state party to the convention shall be free.

## Human Rights

Within the United Nations the most important body in this field is the Commission on Human Rights, which held its 23d session in Geneva February 2–March 23 during which it considered a wide range of questions including the elimination of religious intolerance, punishment of war criminals and those who have committed crimes against humanity, elimination of racial intolerance, violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and advisory services in the field of human rights. In addition, special aspects of human rights were considered by the Commission's Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities at its 19th and 20th sessions (January 4–23 and September 25–October 12) and the Commission on the Status of Women at its 20th session (February 13–March 6). The work of these bodies was reviewed by ECOSOC at its 42d session (May 8–June 6) and, in part, by the Third (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) Committee of the 22d General Assembly in the fall.

### DRAFT CONVENTIONS

#### Elimination of Religious Intolerance

During its 23d session the Commission on Human Rights completed four remaining articles of a draft convention on the elimination of all forms of

religious intolerance and decided unanimously to transmit the draft, which consists of a preamble and 12 substantive articles, to the General Assembly through ECOSOC. The draft convention did not contain any articles of implementation because there had not been time for a full consideration of the subject and it was considered undesirable to undertake only part of the work. The Commission decided, therefore, to transmit for consideration by the General Assembly, in addition to the approved draft convention, other draft articles relating to implementation which had been prepared by the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, but not considered by the Commission.

During the Commission's debate on the draft convention, considerable controversy centered on draft article IX which as adopted provides, *inter alia*,

. . . Any act of violence against the adherents of any religion or belief or against the means used for its practice, any incitement to such acts or incitement to hatred likely to result in acts of violence against any religion or belief or its adherents, shall be considered as offenses punishable by law. . . .

The problem was one of providing protection against incitement to intolerance, discrimination, hatred, and violence while at the same time safeguarding freedom of opinion and expression. The U.S. Representative, Morris Abram, supported amendments to assure that the mere expression of opinion, however objectionable such opinion might be, should not in itself be made punishable. The article was adopted by a vote of 20 (U.S.) to 2, with 4 abstentions.

In another important decision the Commission deleted a draft article that would have required that states parties undertake to make no distinction between, and to give no preference to, any religion or belief or its followers or institutions. It was pointed out that such an article conflicted with article I, paragraph (d)

which had already been adopted and which provided that neither the establishment of a religion nor the recognition of a religion or belief by a state should be regarded as "discrimination on the ground of religion or belief." The decision to delete the draft article was adopted by a vote of 19 (U.S.) to 8, with 1 abstention.

Upon the completion and adoption by the Human Rights Commission of the draft convention, the U.S. Representative, Morris Abram, stated:

This convention seeks to control through international law the destructive ravages of religious intolerance and discrimination which have produced untold sorrow and tragedy for centuries. The convention expresses the authentic tradition of the great religions, most of which have been represented in the Commission which includes Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Hindus, and Moslems.

The draft convention was forwarded to the 22d General Assembly by ECOSOC and was one of the principal agenda items before the Assembly's Third Committee. The Committee changed the name of the convention to the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief.

The Committee began by considering its plan of work, particularly on the controversial question of retaining a reference to antisemitism as a manifestation of religious intolerance. The United States supported this reference because of the exceptionally prominent and unfortunate role antisemitism has played in certain societies. Other countries opposed singling out for condemnation any particular form of religious intolerance. A motion to eliminate from the convention any reference to particular "isms" was adopted on October 27 by a vote of 87 to 2 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions.

The Committee completed its consideration of the preamble and article I which contained definitions. The text of article I was not modified in any substantial manner, but the preamble was extensively altered. The

United States voted against an addition which stated that

... manifestations of religion or belief have served and are still serving as a means or as an instrument of foreign interference in the internal affairs of other States and peoples.

The United States also voted against a new paragraph which implied that freedom of religion can be abused "so as to impede any measures aimed at the elimination of colonialism and racialism."

Due to a shortage of time the Third Committee was not able to complete its work on the convention which was therefore carried over to the 23d session of the General Assembly.

#### **War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity**

In a resolution of August 5, 1966, ECOSOC had urged all states to take any measures necessary to prevent the application of statutory limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity and requested the Commission on Human Rights to prepare, as a matter of priority, a draft convention to the effect that no statutory limitation should apply to such crimes. At ECOSOC's request the Secretary-General provided the Commission with a study on the question of statutory limitation on war crimes and crimes against humanity and the draft of a convention which would oblige states parties to punish war crimes and crimes against humanity "irrespective of the date of their commission." Limitations on the prosecution and punishment of such crimes would thus be abolished.

The Commission on Human Rights completed drafting of the first three articles of this convention during its 23d session and decided to forward the incomplete draft to the General Assembly through ECOSOC. The Third Committee at the 22d session of the Assembly appointed a 15-nation working party to complete the draft. The members of the working

party were Dahomey, France, Guinea, India, Lebanon, Mexico, Netherlands, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Tanzania, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., United Kingdom, and the United States. Controversy in the working party centered on whether the convention should contain a new definition of crimes against humanity that would include apartheid.

On December 13 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Patricia Harris, criticized the draft as finally proposed by the working party for its recurring lack of juridical precision, and for its approach. She said:

... The purpose of the convention is to establish a principle of nonprescriptibility, and not to create new rules of law regarding the definition and scope of war crimes and crimes against humanity. . . .

We continue to believe that the best approach would consist of a brief statement in article I to the effect that the convention shall apply to war crimes of a grave nature and to crimes against humanity, as these crimes are defined in international law. Such a formula would avoid the pitfalls of attempting to enumerate particular acts as constituting war crimes or crimes against humanity. Any enumeration will inevitably be faulty because of a failure to include all elements. Moreover, there is the obvious danger of including political references not based upon sound legal doctrine.

The working party was not able to report to the Third Committee until the closing days of the session and there was no time for action on the convention. It was therefore decided to refer the draft to governments for their comments and defer consideration of it until the Assembly's 23d session.

#### **Freedom of Information**

The Third Committee also continued on its agenda the draft convention on freedom of information. It had previously, at the 14th, 15th, and 16th sessions of the General Assembly, approved a preamble and four operative paragraphs for this convention. Further work on this convention, however, was once again deferred to the next session of the Assembly.

## INTERNATIONAL YEAR FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

In 1963 the General Assembly designated 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights. In 1965 and 1966 the General Assembly further decided to convene an international conference on human rights during 1968 and invited member states and organizations to devote the year to intensified efforts in the field of human rights. In order to assist the Secretary-General in his preparations for the conference, a 23-state preparatory committee was established which met regularly during 1967 to discuss activities for the year and arrangements for the international conference.

On December 18 by a vote of 74 (U.S.) to 3, with 37 abstentions, the General Assembly approved the draft agenda drawn up by the preparatory committee for the conference which was scheduled for Tehran in April and May 1968. The agenda included a review of progress and identification of major obstacles; an evaluation of the effectiveness of methods and techniques employed; and the formulation of a human rights program to be undertaken subsequent to the celebration of the International Year. The Assembly also approved the rules of procedure for the conference and the participation at the conference of regional intergovernmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations in consultative status with ECOSOC, and other nongovernmental organizations which would be screened by the preparatory committee for their interest and competence in this area of U.N. activity.

The United States began early in 1967 to review ways and means of responding to the U.N. recommendations for the celebration of 1968. In this connection the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, which includes leaders from both government and private life, adopted a resolution on March 9, providing in part that it would "exert its leadership in developing activities in support of the observance in the United States of Interna-

tional Human Rights Year to the extent of available resources." An *ad hoc* committee for the year, already established under the chairmanship of Bruno Bitker of Milwaukee, undertook to implement this resolution.

The Department of State's Interdepartmental Committee on Foreign Policy Relating to Human Rights also considered the objectives set by the United Nations for 1968. It agreed that the International Year would provide an opportunity through the activities of government departments and agencies to recognize the great progress the United States has made in recent years in guaranteeing human rights to all of its citizens.

In anticipation of increased activity in this field during 1968, President Johnson on October 11, 1967, designated the week of December 10-17, 1967, to be Human Rights Week, and the year 1968 to be Human Rights Year. In so doing, he called upon

... all Americans and upon all Government agencies—federal, state and local—to use this occasion to deepen our commitment to the defense of human rights and to strengthen our efforts for their full and effective realization both among our own people and among all the peoples of the United Nations.

He recalled that 1968 is the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and stated:

Every American should remember, with pride and gratitude, that much of the leadership in the drafting and adopting of the Declaration came from a great American, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. She was our first representative on the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.

## VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

At its 22d session in March 1966 the Commission on Human Rights had instructed its Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to examine all relevant U.N. materials concerning the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms and to submit to it at its 23d session such recom-

mendations or comments as it considered appropriate. The Commission further decided that it would at its 23d session consider the question of its tasks and functions and its role in relation to violations of human rights in all countries.

ECOSOC at its 41st session in the summer of 1966 welcomed the Commission's decision, and the 21st General Assembly in a resolution adopted October 26, 1966, invited ECOSOC and the Commission on Human Rights ". . . to give urgent consideration to ways and means of improving the capacity of the United Nations to put a stop to violations of human rights wherever they might occur."

In January 1967 the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (an 18-member expert group) considered the question at its 19th session. It adopted on January 18 a resolution in which it recommended to the Commission that it prepare for consideration by the General Assembly a draft appeal by the United Nations to all countries to fully apply the provisions of the U.N. Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination and, where eligible, to ratify forthwith the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination. The resolution further recommended that the Commission "adopt an appropriate method for the gathering, collation, and evaluation of relevant information on the violation of human rights . . . ."

The Subcommittee also transmitted, without approval or disapproval, a draft resolution that had been submitted by Clyde Ferguson, Jr., the U.S. expert on the Subcommittee, and described it as "illustrative of a possible method." Mr. Ferguson's draft had proposed, *inter alia*, that the Subcommittee prepare an annual report on violations containing information provided from such sources as the governments of member states, the Secretary-General, the Committee of

24, the Special Committee on Apartheid, the specialized agencies, regional intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, observations or investigations upon the request of the government whose territory was concerned, and the writings of recognized scholars and scientists.

The Commission on Human Rights considered the question between February 22 and March 16. Members were unanimous in their condemnation of all violations of human rights and several of them expressed the view that the policy of apartheid was at present the most serious form of violation. There was a division of opinion, however, on the question of the competence of the Commission to deal with violations and the nature of the response that it should make to the General Assembly's request that the Commission consider ways and means of improving the U.N. capacity to deal with violations.

Some held that the Commission could go no further than provide leadership in the establishment of standards, the provision of moral leadership, and the promotion of advisory services for the assistance of interested governments. Others, however, felt that the Commission should have a more active role and considered that the General Assembly had asked for recommendations affecting the United Nations as a whole.

On the question of apartheid, the most immediate and challenging violation before the Commission, a letter had been received in which the General Assembly's Special Committee on Apartheid (see p. 54) requested the Secretary-General to draw the attention of the Commission to the continuing ill-treatment in South Africa of prisoners, detainees, and persons in police custody who were opponents of apartheid and imprisoned under arbitrary laws. The letter expressed the hope that the Commission would take steps to secure an international investigation of the condition of the victims of the apartheid enforcement laws.

In response to this request 12 states (11 African and Asian, and Jamaica) proposed a draft resolution which would have the Commission establish an *ad hoc* working group of experts to investigate the charges. Some representatives questioned the competence of the Commission to go beyond the preparation of studies and international instruments of a general nature. Others considered that the Commission's terms of reference had been broadened by the General Assembly's resolution of October 26 (see above). Although some interpreted this resolution as empowering the Commission only to recommend measures to other bodies, others were of the opinion that it gave the Commission the necessary authority to adopt specific measures itself in the event of violations of human rights.

The U.S. Representative, Morris Abram, although not opposing the establishment of a working group, stated the U.S. position that proper procedures required that such a body be appointed by ECOSOC. For this reason the U.S. Representative felt obliged to abstain on the resolution, which was adopted on March 6 by a vote of 25 to 0, with 5 abstentions.

In its final form the resolution established an *ad hoc* working group of experts composed of eminent jurists and prison officials to investigate the charges of torture and ill-treatment of prisoners in South Africa, to receive communications and hear witnesses, to recommend action in concrete cases, and to report to the Commission at the earliest possible time. On June 1 ECOSOC welcomed this action and broadened the mandate of the working group to include a study of trade union rights in South Africa.

The working group held hearings and received petitions in New York, London, Dar es Salaam, and Geneva, and on October 27 issued a report on prison conditions in South Africa.

On March 16 by a vote of 20 to 0, with 8 abstentions (U.S.), the Com-

mission adopted a very strongly worded resolution on the subject of apartheid and race discrimination which was sponsored by 11 African and Asian states. The resolution, *inter alia*, affirmed that "the grave situations obtaining in the rebellious colony of Southern Rhodesia, in Mozambique, in Angola, in Guinea Bissau, in South-West Africa and the Republic of South Africa constitute a threat to peace and security" and called upon all states "strictly to carry out the decisions of the United Nations regarding sanctions against the regimes which are pursuing the criminal policy of racism and apartheid."

On March 16 the Commission adopted several other resolutions on the question of violations. By a vote of 28 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, it adopted a resolution submitted by six African states that established an *ad hoc* study group of 11 of its members to study a proposed establishment of regional commissions on human rights within the U.N. structure. In a separate resolution, submitted by Austria, Italy, Jamaica, and Morocco and adopted by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions, it instructed the same group to study also the question of ways and means by which the Commission might be enabled or assisted in discharging its functions in relation to violations of human rights.

In a third resolution, sponsored by 12 African and Asian states and adopted by a vote of 28 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions, the Commission decided to appoint a special rapporteur (1) to survey past U.N. action in its efforts to eliminate the policies and practices of apartheid, (2) to study the legislation and practices in South Africa, South-West Africa, and Southern Rhodesia that establish and maintain apartheid and racial discrimination; and (3) to report and make recommendations to the 24th session of the Commission.

In a fourth resolution, adopted by a vote of 27 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 absten-

tions, the Commission decided to give annual consideration to violations of human rights. In order to accomplish this task, it requested the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to prepare a report for it containing information on violations of human rights from all available sources. The Commission also requested authority from ECOSOC to use information on gross violations contained in the communications made available to the Commission under a 1959 ECOSOC resolution, and to make a thorough study of situations that reveal a consistent pattern of violations.

On June 6 by a vote of 20 to 4, with 2 abstentions, ECOSOC authorized the Commission and the Subcommittee to use the information on gross violations contained in communications coming within the scope of its earlier resolution, and decided that "the Commission on Human Rights may, in appropriate cases, and after careful consideration of the information thus made available to it . . . make a thorough study of situations which reveal a consistent pattern of violations . . . ."

Under a closely related agenda item, "Measures for the Speedy Implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination" the Commission on March 17 unanimously adopted a resolution submitted by Poland. As amended, the resolution recommended that the General Assembly condemn "any ideology, including nazism, which is based on racial intolerance and terror, as a gross violation of human rights," and call on all states "to take immediate and effective measures against any such manifestations of nazism and racial intolerance." This resolution was approved by ECOSOC on May 29 and was subsequently unanimously adopted without change by the General Assembly on December 18.

The Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities met twice in 1967 owing to its 20th session being moved from January 1968 to September 1967 so that the Subcommittee might henceforth meet in the fall.

During its 19th session, in addition to its work on the violations of human rights (see p. 137), the Subcommittee completed its study of "Discrimination Against Persons Born Out of Wedlock." It transmitted to the Commission on Human Rights for examination and subsequent action both the study and a series of 16 draft principles concerning equality and nondiscrimination with respect to persons born out of wedlock. The Subcommittee also considered a number of other questions, including uncompleted studies on "Equality in the Administration of Justice" and "Racial Discrimination in the Political, Economic, Social, and Cultural Spheres."

It considered both of these studies again at its 20th session and undertook, at the request of the Commission on Human Rights, consideration of the question of slavery in all its forms. It recommended, *inter alia*, that ECOSOC establish a list of experts in economic, social, legal, and other relevant disciplines whose advice would be available to states concerned with eliminating slavery. It also requested that it be authorized to start a study of the possibilities of international police action to combat this problem.

**HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS**

The question of a High Commissioner for Human Rights had been raised by Costa Rica in 1965 and debated in the Commission on Human Rights in 1966. At that time a working group was appointed to study the Costa Rican proposal in the light of an analytical and technical study to be



prepared by the Secretary-General. At a meeting in January 1967 the working group adopted a report recommending creation of the new office which it presented to the Commission at its 23d session.

On March 22 by a vote of 9 to 16 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions, the Commission rejected a draft resolution submitted by the U.A.R. and Yugoslavia which would have kept the matter under study for another year. The Commission then adopted by a vote of 20 (U.S.) to 7, with 2 abstentions, a resolution for submission to ECOSOC which recommended establishment of a U.N. High Commissioner's Office for Human Rights. The resolution, submitted by Austria, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Philippines, and Senegal, also set out in considerable detail the duties to be undertaken by the High Commissioner.

On June 6 ECOSOC adopted by a vote of 17 (U.S.) to 4, with 5 abstentions, the resolution recommended by the Commission and, in turn, recommended that the General Assembly establish the office of High Commissioner for Human Rights. Under the ECOSOC resolution the High Commissioner would be instructed "to assist in promoting and encouraging universal and effective respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all . . . ." His duties would be, in brief:

(1) to give advice and assistance upon request to U.N. organs concerned with human rights;

(2) to render assistance and services to states requesting them;

(3) to call to the attention of the government concerned any petition concerning human rights addressed to the United Nations; and

(4) to report to the General Assembly through ECOSOC on progress and problems in the field of human rights.

Time did not permit the Third Committee of the 22d General Assembly to deal with the recommendation to establish a High Commissioner, and

its consideration was postponed until the 23d session.

## Status of Women

### DECLARATION ON ELIMINATION OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

The draft text for the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women was completed by the Commission on the Status of Women during its 20th session, February 13-March 6. The final draft consisted of a preamble and 11 articles and took into account various amendments proposed during ECOSOC and General Assembly consideration in 1966. Among the additions was a paragraph on the right to family planning information which was proposed by the U.S. Representative, Mrs. Gladys A. Tillet.

On March 2 the Commission unanimously adopted the amended draft declaration and recommended the text to ECOSOC for submission to the General Assembly. On May 29 ECOSOC adopted the draft without change.

On November 7, after the Third Committee had made several minor changes, the General Assembly unanimously adopted the Declaration.

In voting for the Declaration many delegations emphasized its importance as a landmark for the United Nations and a guide for national legislation. Although U.N. conventions on political rights and nationality for women had been in effect for some years, this Declaration is the first comprehensive statement of equality standards for women in all fields, including especially that of family law and property rights during marriage. Like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Declaration states goals that all U.N. members should strive to attain, rather than binding legal obligations.

The Declaration includes provisions calling for, *inter alia*:

(1) adequate legal safeguards for equality of rights between men and women and the abolition of all laws, customs, regulations, and practices that discriminate against women;

(2) all appropriate measures to ensure to women equal political rights, such as the right to vote and hold office;

(3) equal rights to acquire, change, or retain nationality;

(4) equal rights in the field of civil law, in particular the right to own property, equality in legal capacity, and equality with regard to the law on the movement of persons;

(5) equal rights as between husband and wife both during marriage and at its termination;

(6) equal rights and duties with respect to children;

(7) equal rights in education at all levels;

(8) repeal of penal codes that discriminate against women; and

(9) equal rights in economic and social life, including free choice of profession, equal pay, and opportunity for vocational advancement.

#### **ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN**

The Commission also took action on a series of questions relating to the advancement of women. The Commission urged governments to undertake long-term programs so that women might benefit from and contribute to projects directed toward the general welfare, such as community development, aid for rural areas, education, vocational training, and special studies undertaken to meet local needs. In line with the successful experience in the United States, the Commission urged the establishment of national commissions on the status of women and suggested that the Secretary-General examine the possibility of establishing regional offices to be responsible for the advancement of women at the regional level.

On May 29 ECOSOC adopted a resolution recommended by the Com-

mission which, *inter alia*, considered that 1968, the International Year for Human Rights, would provide an excellent opportunity to focus attention on long-term programs for women; endorsed the establishment of national commissions and greater participation by women in policy-making posts, particularly those concerned with developing technical assistance in fields of direct concern to women; endorsed the establishment—where necessary—of national multipurpose training centers to undertake surveys on matters relating to the advancement of women, to serve as clearinghouses for the collection and dissemination of information, and to provide training and retraining for women in various fields.

ECOSOC decided, however, against further work on the proposal for regional U.N. offices concerned with the status of women; it doubted whether the usefulness of these offices would justify the expense involved.

#### **POLITICAL RIGHTS**

The Commission on the Status of Women reviewed at its 20th session progress in each of its major fields of interest. Noting that women had achieved equal voting rights in nearly all countries, it directed its concern to determining whether women knew how to use their political rights and to making plans for the first seminar in a new series on the civic and political education of women. The plan for these seminars had been initiated by the United States at the 1965 session of the Commission in Tehran. The United States cosponsored with Iran, Japan, Netherlands, Peru and Philippines a resolution, adopted unanimously on February 17, that expressed the Commission's hope that such seminars would assess the factors, obstacles, and pressures influencing the exercise by women of their political rights and responsibilities, and would identify ways to encourage their fullest participation in all aspects of political life.

## **STATUS IN PRIVATE LAW**

A report on parental rights and duties, including guardianship, was the basis of an extended discussion in the Commission. Members noted the different systems of marriage law in effect in member states, and the difficulty in developing standards that could be realistically taken into account in all areas. The United States and other delegates pointed out that, in family law, equality did not mean identity, the tasks and responsibilities of the marriage partners were necessarily different, but each should nevertheless be assured equality in relations with their children. The Commission agreed on the following principles:

(1) women and men should have equal rights and duties with respect to the guardianship of minor children, including plans for their care, custody, education, and maintenance;

(2) both spouses should have equal rights and duties with regard to the administration of the property of their minor children, subject to the legal limitations necessary to ensure that it be used in the child's interest;

(3) the welfare of the child should be the paramount consideration in proceedings regarding custody in the event of divorce, annulment, or judicial separation; and

(4) there should be no discrimination between men and women in the manner or substance of decisions relating to guardianship, custody, and similar matters.

ECOSOC subsequently approved these principles in a resolution adopted May 29.

## **ACCESS TO EDUCATION**

A report from UNESCO that analyzed the situation for women in higher education led to renewed expressions of concern that women should undertake advanced training, and also that trained women should be recognized for professional and other positions, especially where countries lack skilled manpower. In re-

sponse to a recommendation from the Commission, ECOSOC on May 29 recommended that member states develop or encourage guidance services for schools, universities, and technical and other training institutes to help women students select the types of higher education through which they could develop their aptitudes and at the same time render needed service. This guidance should also be made available to adult women desiring to begin or resume their education. ECOSOC also endorsed the need for more higher education for both men and women and opportunities for them to grow in their chosen professions.

## **ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY**

The Commission's consideration of employment for women concentrated on the necessity for equal pay for equal work and better utilization of women's skills and job potentials. Studies by the ILO included trends in legislation designed to protect women against work hazards. The Commission stressed the importance of job analysis, especially in women's occupations where the question of fair remuneration could not be solved wholly in terms of equal pay for men and women. It also requested the ILO to study the repercussions of scientific and technical progress on the employment and working conditions of women.

## **Advisory Services in the Field of Human Rights**

The U.N. program of advisory services in the field of human rights was established in 1955 by the 10th General Assembly which authorized the Secretary-General to provide, at the request of governments, advisory services of experts, fellowships and scholarships, and seminars in the field of human rights. The Secretary-General

was requested to cooperate with the specialized agencies where appropriate and not to duplicate any of their existing activities. He was further requested to report regularly on this program to ECOSOC, to the Commission on Human Rights, and, as appropriate, to the Commission on the Status of Women.

During 1967 the United Nations sponsored three seminars under this program. The first was a Western Hemisphere regional seminar in Jamaica, April 25–May 8, on the effective realization of civil and political rights at the national level. The U.S. participants were Clyde Ferguson, Jr., Dean of the Howard University Law School, and Judge Marco A. Rigau, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico. Four countries outside the hemisphere were invited to send experts familiar with institutions regarded as of particular importance—Sweden, for its institution of *ombudsman*; France, for its *Conseil d'Etat*; Japan, for its Civil Liberties Bureau in the Ministry of Justice; and Romania, for its Procurator-General. The experience offered by these experts, all of whom had dealt personally with individual problems and complaints, added greatly to the value of the discussion. Background papers by these experts provided precise data, as did also a paper prepared by Dean Ferguson on experience throughout the Americas. The seminar's conclusions reaffirmed the importance of adequate constitutional provisions and an independent and impartial judiciary with power to enforce them. The seminar also recommended additional government machinery to investigate individual complaints and take swift action where remedy is deserved. The seminar spelled out in some detail how such complaint and review procedures could be organized.

The second seminar, on the civic and political education of women (see p. 142), was held in Helsinki, Finland, August 1–14. Mrs. Gladys Tillett, U.S. Representative on the

Commission on the Status of Women, took part in this seminar sharing with other participants the experience in this field of American women's organizations and political party programs for women. One of the recommendations from this seminar was that a regional training course in civic and political education be organized in conjunction with a future seminar on this topic.

The third seminar was a European regional seminar on the realization of economic and social rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was held in Warsaw, Poland, August 15–28, and the United States sent an observer delegation. Much of the discussion concerned the right to work, including opportunity, training, trade union rights, wage levels in relation to purchasing power, and other conditions of employment. Health, housing, and maternity and family protection were other major interests, with the emphasis on the increasing lifespan and provisions for the older worker and the aged. Participants exchanged experiences on many specific points but did not attempt any general conclusions.

The United Nations also continued its program of fellowships for persons engaged in work in the field of human rights to allow them to observe and study questions of interest to them in other countries. During 1967, 43 individual fellowships were awarded to participants from 26 countries, including for the first time the United States. The participants included persons responsible for the administration of justice at various levels, officials responsible for legislative drafting, and officials from national development boards, ministries of justice, labor, and social affairs, and women's bureaus. Among the topics studied were protection of human rights in a multinational society, the right of asylum, protection of immigrants and resident aliens, advancement of human rights in the formulation and implementation of economic and social legisla-

tion, protection of human rights in the administration of justice, the role of the police in the protection of human rights, legal aid, and civic activities of women.

In addition, nine fellows—one from each of nine countries in Asia and the Far East—took part in a pilot project in group training for human rights that was carried out in Japan, June 15–July 26. The topics covered

during this 6-week program were (1) human rights in the administration of justice, and (2) human rights and penal sanctions. In addition to lectures, discussions, and exchanges of view among the participants, the project included two weeks of intensive field work. A number of senior Japanese officials assisted in this project, acting as discussion leaders and lecturers.

## Programing and Coordination

The rapid increase of the budgets and expenditures of the United Nations and its related organizations has been a matter of growing concern in recent years. In response to the requirements and demands of the developing countries the increase has been greatest for programs and activities in the economic and social fields. The United Nations spent more than \$90 million for these programs in 1967; the organizations in the U.N. system spent roughly \$400 million or 80 percent of their total resources.

In 1966 the General Assembly's Committee of 14 formulated a series of recommendations specifically addressed to the economic and social programs and operations of the U.N. system and their budgetary implications. It called for the adoption of an integrated system of long-term planning, program formulation, and budget preparations; an evaluation of programs and operations, and their impact; review of documentation and conference programs; the establishment of a joint inspection corps; and changes in the preparation and cycle of budgets. Several of these recommendations placed special responsibilities on ECOSOC as the principal U.N. organ concerned with the coordination of the economic and social pro-

grams and activities throughout the U.N. system.

In 1967 there was marked progress in the implementation of these recommendations, particularly by ECOSOC's Committee for Program and Coordination (CPC).

### CPC

#### REVIEW OF U.N. PROGRAMS

The CPC devoted the first part of its 1967 session (May 8 to June 1) to a review of the U.N. work program in the economic, social, and human rights fields and its budgetary requirements. Acting on directives of ECOSOC and building on the recommendations of the Committee of 14, the CPC stressed the need for integrated programing and budgeting. In the past, the processes of program formulation and budget preparation have essentially been carried out separately. Programs tended to be voted without due regard to available or prospective resources, while budgets were being formulated and approved without adequate recognition of program requirements. The CPC urged greater fiscal responsibility on the part of programing bodies,

emphasis on priorities, the elimination of marginal projects, and the curtailment of documentation and conferences. In turn, it sought the cooperation of the ACABQ and the General Assembly in achieving, as necessary, a reallocation of available and prospective resources on the basis of program priorities. There was agreement that the U.N. activities should be presented in the budget on a program basis, clearly indicating the objectives of the programs, the organizational units responsible for their operations, and the costs.

The CPC strongly supported long-term planning covering all economic and social activities to achieve maximum impact and meaningful coordination of programs and operations as such planning was a prerequisite to the establishment of a rational system for the allocation of resources in accordance with priority objectives. As a corollary, the majority of the CPC also favored a change from an annual to a biennial budget cycle.

In the light of these general views, the CPC reviewed in depth nine sectors of the U.N. work program: housing, building, and planning; population; social development; human rights; public administration; economic planning, projections, and policies; fiscal and financial questions; natural resources, transport, and communications; and executive direction and management. The CPC deplored the lack of clear-cut priorities in such sectors as human rights; housing, building, and planning; and population, where it held that insufficient attention was given to operational programs in the area of family planning. It urged better coordination between the Resources and Transport Division and other organizations engaged in the preparation of surveys of natural resources. It questioned the usefulness of various studies, reports, and manuals and called for greater emphasis on action-oriented programs.

These are but illustrations of the CPC's efforts in helping to achieve the

most effective concentration of scarce resources on priority programs and projects of economic and social development. Another nine sectors, including international trade, industrial development, and science and technology, will be scrutinized in 1968.

#### **COORDINATION OF U.N. SYSTEM**

During a second series of meetings in June, the CPC dealt with problems of coordination within the entire system of U.N. agencies and organizations. It highlighted a number of important program areas requiring coordination and cooperation among several bodies; for example, UNCTAD, GATT, and UNIDO, in the promotion of trade. It stressed the importance of interagency collaboration on matters relating to population, particularly in the area of family planning. It noted with appreciation the close collaboration between the ECOSOC Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development and other U.N. organizations; in this respect it specifically welcomed the concerted efforts to increase the supply of edible proteins (see p. 127). By the same token, with respect to the statistical activities under the guidance of the U.N. Statistical Office, the CPC concluded that considerable savings could be effected by a further integration based on modern computerized statistical methods. It regretted the lack of full agreement among the FAO, UNESCO, and the ILO on the coordination of their activities in the field of agricultural education and training and called for early appropriate action by these agencies and by ECOSOC.

The CPC also dealt with a number of system-wide problems, some recurrent and some new. It addressed itself to the need for national and regional coordination; the proliferation of documentation which might in part be met by a common indexing system; progress and shortcomings in the evaluation of technical cooperation

programs; the need for better information on the economic and social work of the United Nations and its agencies; and the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee of 14 and others.

## Joint ACC/CPC Meeting

Prior to the 43d session of ECOSOC in Geneva, the CPC met in joint session with the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC). The session resolved some difficulties over certain qualifications and reservations that the specialized agencies had raised with respect to the creation and the procedures of a Joint Inspection Unit as proposed by the Committee of 14.

The Committee of 14 had proposed that the reports on any inspection should be communicated in full to the organization's executive board or governing body, together with the comments, if any, of the executive head of the organization. The ACC objected to this formula and assumed that the governing or legislative body of each organization would decide in what form its executive head should report on the inspection and the action taken. The question of prior announcement of the arrival of inspectors and the protection of confidential information was also raised.

The members of the CPC, by and large, supported the views of the Committee of 14 and several took strong exception to what they considered exaggerated "autonomism" on the part of the agencies and their heads. The CPC held that under the ACC formula the several agencies might adopt differing procedures to the prejudice of the effectiveness and harmonization of the inspection system as a whole. The two groups reached a unanimous agreement, later approved by ECOSOC, stipulating that the transmittal of the reports to the governing

bodies of the agencies concerned is mandatory, but leaving leeway to these bodies on the use and distribution of the reports. The sections of the reports dealing with coordination matters are also to be made available to ECOSOC and the CPC in order to help them with their coordination functions.

By playing a mediating role in these discussions, the United States achieved its objective, that the inspection unit be established on January 1, 1968. Without the cooperation of the specialized agencies and the IAEA, however, the early establishment of the inspection unit would have been in jeopardy.

## ECOSOC Action

### INTEGRATION OF U.N. PLANNING AND PROGRAMING

At its 43d session (July 11–August 4) ECOSOC broadly endorsed the major findings and recommendations of the CPC with respect to program budgeting. On August 4 it adopted a comprehensive resolution that, *inter alia*, expressed its satisfaction with the CPC's methods of work; endorsed, in general, CPC's observations on the sectors of the work program reviewed at its first session; and drew the General Assembly's attention to those observations in connection with its consideration of the activities to be undertaken in economic, social, and human rights fields in 1968, and its consideration of the relevant sections of the budget.

With respect to the CPC's recommendations concerning long-term planning, program formulation, and cycle and presentation of the U.N. budget, ECOSOC expressed the hope that the General Assembly would give urgent consideration to these questions; endorsed the view that the activities of the CPC and the ACABQ are closely related and that program

and budget cannot be considered in isolation; emphasized the need for close cooperation between the two committees; and invited the ACABQ to take the CPC report into account when it considers the Secretary-General's budget proposals relating to the U.N. work program in economic, social, and human rights fields.

ECOSOC also requested its subsidiary bodies, such as functional and regional commissions, (1) to review (a) their methods of work and calendar of conferences with a view to reducing the total meeting time; (b) the documentation now being prepared and any new proposals for documents with a view to reducing the number of requests and the volume of documentation; and (c) the terms of reference of their own subsidiary bodies with a view to rationalizing the system of subsidiary bodies; and (2) to draw up, where they have not already done so, long-range work programs clearly indicating priorities among the various projects.

The ECOSOC decisions helped establish a basic pattern for orderly review in depth of U.N. work programs. They should help close the gap between the bodies that formulate or review U.N. programs and the authorities that draw up the U.N. budget. Established or contemplated programs will continue to be reviewed periodically by the CPC with reference to their cost in preparation for action on them by ECOSOC and, as appropriate, by the General Assembly. There will be close cooperation between the CPC and ACABQ. All this constitutes a major step toward an integrated system of long-term planning, programming, and budgeting.

#### **COORDINATION WITHIN THE U.N. SYSTEM**

ECOSOC adopted a series of resolutions designed to achieve the closest possible cooperation between the United Nations and its agencies and to improve procedures for more effective coordination.

As it had on several occasions in the past, ECOSOC emphasized the need for governments to ensure that the positions taken by their delegations to meetings of the various organizations are coordinated in order to avoid the possibility of taking conflicting decisions on the same or similar subjects in different organizations. It suggested that those member governments that have not already done so consider the possibility of establishing central governmental machinery to coordinate at the national level their participation in organizations within the U.N. system. At the same time it requested the U.N. Secretary-General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies to indicate, before the adoption of any new proposal, the extent to which the proposal is already covered by existing projects or documentation, or falls more properly within the terms of reference of another organization.

On August 4 ECOSOC expressed its concern over inadequate coordination at the regional level, in view of the growing number of organizations and bodies both within and outside the U.N. family that are active in various regions. It urged the ACC to give this problem special attention and called for adequate and increasing consultations between senior officials of the regional economic commissions and of the agencies on matters of mutual interest. It welcomed the holding of annual meetings of the directors of regional development planning institutes and approved the idea of regular exchanges of work programs, at the planning stage, between the various institutes themselves and between the institutes and other interested bodies within the U.N. system.

In other actions ECOSOC invited the Secretary-General to maintain and strengthen contacts at the secretariat level with major intergovernmental organizations in the economic and social field outside the U.N. system, and to propose the names of such organizations that should be repre-



sented at ECOSOC sessions by observers with limited rights of participation.

Finally, ECOSOC endorsed the idea of establishing a central index of the major documents of the U.N. system that could enhance the usefulness of existing documentation and help reduce requests for information that may already be available in similar form.

#### **OTHER QUESTIONS**

In addition to these decisions largely concerned with improving techniques of coordination, ECOSOC and its sessional Coordination Committee (a committee of the whole) dealt with a number of substantive issues.

Some of these issues, although important, raised no major problems. There was agreement that, following the dissolution of the International Relief Union, UNESCO should assume responsibility for the scientific study of natural disasters in fields within its competence. In addition, the ACC was asked to look into the future coordination of the activities of the U.N. family of organizations in connection with natural disasters.

There was also general endorsement of UNESCO's appeal to member states and nongovernmental organizations to celebrate an International Literacy Day each year, thus emphasizing that the struggle against illiteracy is the common concern of the organizations within the U.N. system as a whole.

Recognizing that human resources provide an essential factor in economic and social progress, ECOSOC on August 4 adopted a resolution that undertook to achieve concerted action on the part of the U.N. system of organizations in developing this resource. It welcomed a report by the Secretary-General on ways that human resources could be developed and utilized, and it requested that the report be submitted to member states and relevant specialized agencies for comment. It further recommended

that the UNDP continue to give favorable consideration to applications designed to intensify educational, vocational, and technical training, and that it take into fullest account the prior requirements for preparing skilled manpower to carry out projects relating to natural resources, industrialization, and other fields.

In keeping with a 1966 decision to devote each year to the examination of selected fields with special problems of coordination, ECOSOC invited the specialized agencies concerned and the ACC to give the following topics fuller treatment in their reports for 1968: agricultural education, population problems, vocational training in connection with industrialization, oceanographic activities, and statistical research and publications. The repeated inclusion of population problems is an indication of the high priority that ECOSOC accords to programs in this field.

#### **Evaluation of Technical Cooperation Programs**

The Council continued its efforts to achieve effective evaluation of the technical cooperation programs and related activities of the U.N. system. During the year, the ACC's Inter-Agency Study Group on Evaluation reviewed and analyzed the findings and recommendations of evaluation missions to Thailand, Chile, and Morocco. The reports had previously been submitted to ECOSOC. On the basis of the Inter-Agency Study Group's analysis, the ACC elaborated and refined the terms of reference for future evaluation teams, two of which were scheduled to visit Iran and Ecuador in 1968.

ECOSOC, on its part, reaffirmed its conviction that proper evaluation procedures would ensure a more effective use of available resources and help to increase support for the technical cooperation activities of the U.N. system of organizations.

In order to make the reports by experts, technical advisers, and chiefs

of technical assistance missions more useful in the development of new projects or programs, ECOSOC asked that the Inter-Agency Study Group undertake a thorough study of the measures taken or contemplated by U.N. organizations to improve the methods of drafting and using such reports.

Further, ECOSOC welcomed the initiation by UNITAR of a research project to develop improved methods and techniques for project evaluation, sectoral evaluation, and the evaluation of overall impact of the combined programs of technical cooperation. (See p. 107.)

In the course of the consideration of this topic, the United States emphasized that although the agencies themselves have primary responsibility for evaluating specific projects, ways and means have to be found to measure the overall impact of the technical cooperation programs of the U.N. system on the economic and social development of the aided countries.

In light of ECOSOC's concern for effective evaluation, the decisions it took in 1967 are likely to advance the time when the United Nations will establish a permanent evaluation unit within the U.N. system. This has for years been one of the objectives of U.S. policy.

#### **Public Information Activities**

At the 41st ECOSOC in 1966 the United States had taken the initiative in requesting a survey and study of the U.N. public information activities, particularly with respect to economic and social activities. The discussions at the 43d ECOSOC centered on a proposal by the Secretary-General for the redeployment of available resources to "regional information centers." Although there was not a great deal of enthusiasm for the proposal, the majority felt that it could be one way of rendering the U.N. public information services more effective, and such a redeployment was approved "on an experimental basis."

ECOSOC also urged the information offices of the United Nations and its related agencies to be more resourceful in developing newsworthy stories and to tailor them to regional audiences. Further, it invited member states and nongovernmental organizations to make greater efforts to publicize U.N. economic and social activities through their own information facilities.

## **Expanded Committee for Program and Coordination**

The General Assembly at its 21st session in 1966 established the Expanded Committee for Program and Coordination—the CPC, plus five additional members appointed by the President of the General Assembly—to undertake during the following 3 years a comprehensive, general review of the programs and activities of the U.N. family in the economic, social, technical cooperation, and related fields.

The Expanded Committee met in September 1967 and prepared an interim report which was submitted through the resumed 43d session of ECOSOC to the 22d General Assembly. This report contained an outline of the form and content for the final report. Both ECOSOC and the General Assembly merely took note of it.

The Committee drew up a list of 28 topics which it believed should be considered in depth before it could make recommendations to the Assembly. These topics are divided into six groups: legal and organizational issues; coordination, programing, planning, and budgeting; technical cooperation; evaluation; financial and administrative issues; and general issues. The Committee recognized that some of these topics were primarily within the competence of other U.N. bodies, whose work it does not

wish to duplicate. It left for a later decision the selection of the issues that it would specially consider.

This list of topics suggests that the Expanded Committee is quite likely to duplicate work and studies done elsewhere. Indeed, some of the discussions during its September meeting were little more than a repetition of discussions heard earlier in the CPC. To understand this overlap it must be recognized that the Expanded Committee owes its existence to pressures by the developing countries, which did not participate in the drafting of the U.N. Charter and the basic instruments of the specialized agencies, nor

in the formulation of the work programs of these organizations prior to the late 1950's. These countries, many of which did not exist at the time, are not satisfied with the U.N. system and its operations as established. They are seeking basic changes in the system, a greater centralization, and an end to the "autonomy" of the specialized agencies. They feel that there is not enough concentration on support for their economic and social development. It is, therefore, likely that rather radical proposals for far-reaching changes in the U.N. system will emerge from the work of the Expanded Committee.

# Specialized Agencies and the IAEA

## International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Recognizing the vital need for international capital to help reconstruction after World War II and to raise living standards and productivity, particularly in the less developed areas of the world, the United States in concert with over 40 other nations established the IBRD in 1944. Since that time the IBRD has grown to a membership of 106 nations with authorized capital of \$24 billion, making it the largest multilateral provider of financial assistance in the world. The United States has subscribed \$6,350 million or 27.8 percent of the total subscribed capital of \$22.8 billion.

The IBRD's primary functions are to provide loans where private capital is not available on reasonable terms to finance development projects and programs designed to raise the level of productivity, and to stimulate eco-

nomics growth in its member countries. It also furnishes a wide variety of technical assistance. The IBRD derives its lending resources principally from borrowings in private capital markets. Its outstanding funded debt as of June 30 was \$3,075 million. The IBRD also receives funds from the sales of parts of its loans (totaling \$2,035 million on June 30), repayments of principal, and income from operations.

The IBRD had made 508 loans to 82 countries and territories for a total of \$10.4 billion by June 30. IBRD loan commitments in fiscal 1967 were \$877 million, including a \$100 million line of credit to the IFC, and gross disbursements were \$790 million. Nearly three-fourths of the IBRD loans have been made to developing countries, primarily for projects in the fields of electric power, transportation, industry, and agriculture.

As needs for development finance have changed and become more pressing, the IBRD and its affiliated institutions have moved to meet these new

requirements. Although the Bank has maintained its reputation as a prudent financial institution, and therefore its ability to borrow in private capital markets, it has pursued a policy of flexibility enabling it to respond to the growing needs of the developing countries for long-term assistance. For example, between 1964 and 1967, the IBRD transferred out of its income \$210 million to the IDA for use in making long-term development credits. The IBRD also extended a \$100 million line of credit to the IFC under authority of the amended Articles of Agreement of the two institutions.

In addition to its direct development assistance efforts, the IBRD exercises leadership in promoting coordination between developed and developing countries. It has established close working relationships with other members of the U.N. system by cooperating with the FAO and UNESCO to promote agricultural and educational development. It also acts as executing agency for certain pre-investment projects financed by the UNDP.

During 1967 the IBRD sponsored the formation of a new consultative group on Morocco, bringing to nine the number of such groups which coordinate assistance activities for individual developing countries. The Bank also sponsors consortia for assistance to India and Pakistan and administers the Indus Basin and Nam Ngum Development Funds.

The Administrative Council of the new International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes met for the first time in February 1967 and appointed Aron Broches, General Counsel of the IBRD, as Secretary-General of the Center. The Center, established in October 1966, will provide facilities for the settlement, by voluntary recourse to conciliation or arbitration, of investment disputes between contracting states and foreign investors who are nationals of other contracting states.

During the past year the IBRD con-

tinued its research and analysis on matters of interest in the field of economic development. A study on the relation of suppliers' credits to development and a first draft of a multilateral investment insurance scheme, both undertaken at the request of UNCTAD, were completed during 1967. Further discussions were also held on the Bank's earlier study of supplementary financial measures. An expanded system of debt reporting, operated jointly by the IBRD and OECD, came into force on January 1, 1967. This system will provide comprehensive and up-to-date information on loans and credit transactions of the 17 principal creditor countries.

## International Finance Corporation

The IFC was established in 1956 as an affiliate of the IBRD to assist the industrial development of its less advanced member countries. The IFC furthers investment in productive private enterprises through subscriptions to capital stock, through combinations of stock subscriptions and loans, and through loans with equity or other special features. It invests in association with private investors when sufficient private capital is not available on reasonable terms.

The IFC has 83 members and an authorized capital of \$110 million, of which \$99.9 million has been subscribed and paid in. The United States subscribes 35.2% of the total capital stock. In addition to capital subscriptions, the IFC also obtains funds from repayments of investments, sales of equity and loan investments, and net income.

The IFC has been given increased responsibility for enhancing the effectiveness of the World Bank group (IBRD, IFC, and IDA) in financing industrial development. The IFC now acts for the group in the technical and

financial appraisal, preparation, and supervision of industrial and mining projects. The IFC is the main instrument of the World Bank group for dealing with private industry and development finance companies. Its activities may lead to IFC investments, IBRD loans, IDA credits, or a combination of these. The IFC acts as a catalyst in financing projects jointly with other investors; on the average, the latter have provided over \$4 for every \$1 invested by IFC.

By June 30 the IFC had made 138 investments and standby and underwriting commitments of \$209.9 million, 90 percent of which were for developing countries. New IFC commitments in fiscal 1967 totaled \$49.1 million and disbursements were \$25.4 million. Cumulative disbursements as of June 30, totaled \$140.0 million. The bulk of IFC funds has been invested in manufacturing industry and in development finance companies. During 1967, particular emphasis was placed on projects to expand the production of fertilizer in the developing countries, a reflection of the importance given to increasing food production in these countries.

## International Development Association

By 1960 a growing number of less developed countries needed and could make use of additional capital, but were accumulating excessive debt-servicing burdens. To help meet this situation, and largely in response to a U.S. initiative, the IDA was established as an affiliate of the IBRD. The IDA provides development credits on terms designed to impose far less burden on the balance of payments of borrowing countries than those for conventional loans. The IDA has the same management and staff as the IBRD, operates on similar principles, and provides financing for the same gen-

eral range of projects. The favorable terms on which the IDA lends often permit the extension of credits to countries that could not prudently assume the burden of payment for an IBRD loan; some of these countries receive only IDA credits while others are able to receive a blend of IDA and IBRD types of financing.

The IDA has a membership of 97 countries with subscriptions and supplementary resources totaling the equivalent of \$1,772.8 million. Eighteen members, comprising the more industrially advanced (Part I) countries, make their entire contributions in gold or convertible currencies, all of which may be used for lending. The less advanced (Part II) members pay only one-tenth of their contributions in gold or convertible currencies usable for lending.

When the IDA's initial resources of \$776.2 million were nearing depletion in 1964 Part I countries agreed to provide it with an additional \$750 million over a 3-year period beginning 1965. The United States has contributed \$632.3 million to IDA resources, or about 42 percent of total Part I contributions. The IDA's resources have also been augmented by special contributions from Sweden, by the release in convertible currency of some Part II local currency subscriptions, by grant transfers totaling \$210 million from the IBRD, and from net IDA income.

By the end of fiscal 1967, the IDA had made 109 credits, totaling \$1,694.2 million, to 38 developing countries. Commitments in fiscal 1967 totaled \$353.5 million, and disbursements were \$342.1 million. Credits have been principally for projects in the fields of transportation, industry, and agriculture.

As of June 30 the IDA's resources remaining available for commitment totaled \$86.8 million, all of which has been earmarked for projects in the final stages of consideration. Proposals concerning a second replenishment of the IDA's resources were submitted

by the President of the World Bank group to Part I countries in 1966, and discussions are continuing. The United States has indicated its willingness to increase its contribution to the IDA, subject to balance-of-payments safeguards and to appropriate increases in contributions from other members.

## International Monetary Fund

The basic objectives of the International Monetary Fund, which are fully supported by the United States, are to promote exchange and monetary stability and to provide, under adequate safeguards, medium-term financial assistance to member countries in temporary balance-of-payments difficulties. As of June 30 the IMF had 106 members with quotas of \$20,971 million, of which the U.S. quota was \$5.160 million (approximately 25 percent). Quota increases for 29 member countries (not including the United States) during fiscal 1967 amounted to the equivalent of \$530.5 million, almost all of which were in accordance with the 1966 general and special increases in members' quotas.

The resources of the Fund are supplemented by the General Arrangements to Borrow (GAB), which became effective in 1962 and were renewed in 1966. Under these Arrangements, the main industrial countries<sup>1</sup> undertake to lend to the IMF specified amounts of their currencies up to the equivalent of \$6 billion in the event that the stability of the international monetary system is endangered. The U.S. commitment under the Arrangements amounts to \$2 billion.

In 1963 the IMF established a com-

<sup>1</sup> Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States—known as the "Group of Ten."

pensatory financing facility designed to assist developing countries in meeting threats to their economic development efforts caused by fluctuations in their export earnings. This facility was liberalized in 1966 to permit drawings for this purpose of up to 50 percent of quota, except that the amount of such outstanding drawings may not increase by more than 25 percent of quota in any 12-month period. Such compensatory drawings do not affect a member's ability to make ordinary drawings under the Fund's policies.

Since it first made use of the IMF resources in 1964, the United States has drawn a total of \$1.640 million. However, because of sales of U.S. dollars by the Fund to other countries, outstanding drawings by the United States by June 30, 1967, amounted to \$851.4 million. About two-thirds of the U.S. drawings have been made in currencies that it has sold to other countries wishing to make repayments to the IMF. These "technical" drawings allow such countries to make repayments without converting their dollars into gold. In fiscal 1967 the United States drew from the IMF the equivalent of \$460 million in foreign currencies which were used directly and indirectly to reduce foreign dollar holdings.

The United States has supported an important role for the IMF in connection with arrangements being negotiated to strengthen the international monetary system through the deliberate creation of a new asset to supplement existing forms of monetary reserves. Discussions among the "Group of Ten" began in 1965 and continued through July 1966, when the Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors of the "Group of Ten" countries announced agreement on a number of basic principles for the creation of additional reserve assets. Subsequently, joint consultations were held between the Deputies of the "Group of Ten" and the Executive Directors of the IMF, and by August

1967 agreement was reached on an Outline Plan for the establishment of a new facility which would issue special drawing rights to members of the Fund. The Board of Governors of the IMF approved the Outline Plan at its annual meeting in September 1967 and requested the Executive Directors to formulate specific provisions for putting the Plan into effect.

## Food and Agriculture Organization

FAO has two broad purposes: (1) to serve as a clearinghouse for the collection and exchange of information and provide forums for the discussion of common problems; and (2) to give technical advice and assistance to the developing countries in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, forestry, nutrition, and home economics.

During 1967, in addition to its own budgeted programs, FAO acted as executing agency for 308 UNDP projects with a total allocation of \$251,385,614. Under all field programs, FAO had over 2,500 experts and consultants in 112 countries.

### 14TH FAO CONFERENCE

The 14th session of the FAO Conference met in Rome, November 4–24, and adopted a program of work and budget for the 1968–69 biennium. The work program selected five areas for greater emphasis: (1) integrated planning for agricultural development, (2) increased food production and availability through reduction of losses, (3) development of human resources and improvement of the institutional framework, (4) investment assistance, and (5) creating increased awareness of the world food problem.

Based on a 1965 decision of the Conference, a careful study was made during 1967 of the general structure of FAO, particularly with a view to determining if it was properly orga-

nized to meet the heavy responsibilities that lie ahead. The study was carried out by an international review team especially selected for the purpose. One of the team's recommendations was to increase FAO's corps of country representatives in the countries receiving technical assistance; the Conference decided that this should be done during the 1968–69 biennium. Other recommendations were remanded for further study to the Director General and to the FAO Council (a 34-country governing body which meets between sessions of the biennial conferences). The Council is expected to approve a proposed new structure at its October 1968 session and the proposed program of work and budget for 1970–71 will then be prepared by the Director General on the basis of the new structure. In a session immediately following the Conference the Council set up a seven-country interregional committee to work with the Director General in implementing this assignment. The United States is a member of the committee.

The 14th Conference also admitted new members and elected a new Director General. Barbados and Bulgaria were admitted, Hungary—which had withdrawn—was readmitted, and Bahrain and Qatar were admitted to associate membership. This brought the total membership to 116 full and 3 associate members. A. H. Boerma of the Netherlands was elected to a 4-year term as Director General. Mr. Boerma, who had been Executive Director of the U.N./FAO World Food Program for the previous 5 years, succeeded B. R. Sen of India who had been Director General since September 1956.

### GENETIC RESOURCES

There is an urgent need to screen available plant and animal genetic material and to preserve promising lines. A program to conserve plant genetic resources began in September 1967 with a conference in Rome on

“Exploration, Utilization, and Conservation of Plant and Gene Resources.” The conference discussed procedures and made recommendations for carrying out the necessary work, which will be done by the member countries.

The animal genetic resources conservation program, as a result of the impetus given it by the work of an *Ad Hoc* Advisory Committee which met in December 1966 under the chairmanship of Dr. Ralph Phillips of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, is progressing at a rapid rate. Several member countries are now screening available germ plasm to evaluate its potential and to conserve that portion determined to be of importance. This work is being coordinated by an FAO staff member.

#### LOSSES FROM PESTS

The United States took part in a symposium held in Rome in October 1967 on pre- and post-harvest losses from pests which recommended that FAO take the lead in coordinating a program to determine the best methods for measuring these losses. The first step will be to establish, in cooperation with member countries, a uniform survey and assessment of losses. In many countries such losses have been accepted as inevitable and no attempt has been made to equate them with decreased production or reduced market quality. It is expected that once the countries become aware of the magnitude of these losses they will be moved to take preventive action.

#### FISHERIES

The FAO Department of Fisheries, headed by a U.S. citizen, Roy Jackson, completed its first phase of growth in 1967. Created in 1966 by upgrading the former Fisheries Division, the Department is expanding its work in phases over a 6-year period. The Committee on Fisheries, a standing committee of the FAO Council on which the United States is

represented, held its second session in Rome, April 24–29. Composed of some of the world's leading fishery administrators, the Committee not only helped set priorities for the work of the Fisheries Department, but also gave particular attention to identifying new subsidiary bodies that FAO will need to promote international cooperation in this field. In June, on the Committee's recommendation, the FAO Council approved the establishment of an Indian Ocean Fishery Commission and a Fishery Committee for the Eastern Central Atlantic.

The United States attended a number of other FAO-sponsored meetings dealing with fisheries. These included:

(1) World Scientific Conference on the Biology and Culture of Shrimp and Prawns, held in Mexico City, June 12–24, and attended by some 180 participants from 30 countries;

(2) Technical Conference on Fisheries of the West African Subregion, held in Dakar, Senegal, July 31–August 4; and

(3) Conference on Fish Behavior in Relation to Fishing Techniques and Tactics, held in Bergen, Norway, October 19–27.

Just before this latter conference the Codex Committee on Fish and Fishery Products also met in Bergen, October 9–13. Representatives of 19 nations and 6 international organizations took part. The Committee continued its work on developing worldwide standards to protect the consumer's health and to ensure equitable trade practices with respect to those fishery products that have a high volume of international trade.

#### NUTRITION

Through its Nutrition Division FAO continued to cooperate closely with interested international and non-governmental agencies in an effort to eradicate hunger and malnutrition and to improve the nutrition and living conditions of rural populations. The Division's three fields of special emphasis were:



(1) planned food and agriculture development;

(2) development of protein-rich and other foods through the promotion of food science, technology, and industrial development; and

(3) training and education at all levels in nutrition, home economics, and food technology.

The Division increased its participation in the Indicative World Plan for Agricultural Development, making projections of food needs in 1975 and 1985 and emphasizing the nutritional aspects of raising standards of living.

During the year the Home Economics Branch began a new activity, "Planning for Improved Family Living," which focused on proper food utilization, consumer education for improved use of family resources, and the analysis of economic and social factors related to family size and well-being.

With financial support from UNDP and the World Food Program, the Nutrition Division expanded its activities in group feeding to include industrial and agricultural workers. This expanded program has two objectives: (1) to increase the working capacity of the individual, and (2) to initiate investigations of applied nutrition programs in the rapidly urbanizing centers of the developing countries.

In response to a recommendation of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development, endorsed by ECOSOC (see p. 127), a revision of the terms of reference of the FAO/WHO/UNICEF Protein Advisory Group was initiated, primarily to enlarge its scope. The FAO Nutrition Division was given the operational responsibility for this advisory group.

#### **FOOD STANDARDS**

The purpose of the Codex Alimentarius Commission, which is sponsored by FAO and WHO, is to simplify and harmonize international food standards. The Commission's

work includes the development of standards by different Codex Commodity Committees for some 200 food products significant in international trade. In addition, other subsidiary bodies of the Commission work on related subjects such as food labeling, pesticide residues, analysis and sampling, and food hygiene. The increased interest and participation of U.S. food and chemical industries in the international food standards program is a measure of the program's importance to the United States. Industry experts knowledgeable in the fields under discussion accompanied and assisted government representatives to all Codex Committee sessions. This teamwork and cooperation proved beneficial to all parties.

#### **FORESTRY**

The United States is a member of a number of FAO forestry groups that were active during 1967. The North American Forestry Commission held its fourth session in Mexico City, October 2-7, and the Commission's four working groups—Forest Fire Control, Forest Insects and Diseases, Forest Tree Improvement, and Wildlife and Recreation—also met during the year to continue their programs of research, training, and publication in the areas of their interest. The permanent secretariat for the Forest Tree Improvement group is provided by the U.S. Forest Service.

The Latin American Forestry Commission held its 10th session in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad and Tobago, December 4-9. Among the topics it considered was a paper prepared by the United States at FAO's request titled "Guideline for the Management of National Parks in Latin America." Among the decisions taken at this session was an agreement by the Commission's Committee on National Parks and Wildlife to establish a working arrangement with the North American Forestry Commission on interregional problems of managing migratory waterfowl. Other useful ex-

changes of views and information were held on regional research and education, plantation forestry as opposed to management of indigenous tropical hardwood forests, and social problems related to forestry—all subjects of direct interest to the U.S. Forest Service Institute of Tropical Forestry, located in Puerto Rico. M. A. Hernandez Agosto, Secretary of Agriculture for the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and a member of the U.S. delegation, was elected First Vice Chairman of the Commission.

In October the FAO Committee on Forest Development in the Tropics, created in 1966, held its first session in Rome and determined that its primary function should be to recommend to the Director General ways to strengthen FAO's work in tropical areas. The Committee also appointed an executive committee, headed by the U.S. representative, to act for the full committee between regular sessions.

At the request of the director of FAO's Forestry and Forest Industries Division, four U.S. Forest Service officers were assigned for several months as advisers on FAO-administered projects in Africa and Latin America concerned with watershed management, wood technology, forest economics, and research and dendrology. Six foresters were granted leaves of absence of one to three years by the U.S. Forest Service so that they could work with FAO on UNDP-sponsored projects in five countries and at FAO headquarters in Rome. The United States also provided training programs of from 2 to 12 months for 36 FAO Fellows in specialized fields of forestry.

#### **INDICATIVE WORLD PLAN**

The FAO Indicative World Plan, designed to find a solution to the basic problems of agricultural development in the less developed countries, continued to be a major activity. The Plan will not be a directive to governments, but will provide broad guidelines for the action needed to achieve

agricultural development within an overall economic frame. The commodity projections to 1975 and 1985—a vital element in the early stages of preparation of the Plan—were reviewed by member governments and published during 1967.

#### **PUBLICATIONS**

FAO continued to carry out an extensive publications program, including yearbooks of forest products statistics, agricultural production, trade, forestry, and fisheries; substantive and statistical reports and studies on world food problems; summaries of new technical and economic findings; and other useful materials. In November 1967 it published the first issue of a new bimonthly magazine, *Ceres*.

#### **COOPERATION WITH OTHER PROGRAMS**

The joint FAO/UNICEF Program provided assistance to member governments in five major fields: (1) milk conservation, (2) applied nutrition, (3) provision of high protein foods, (4) home economics, and (5) education and rural activities.

FAO continued to cooperate with the IBRD and IDA for the purpose of better coordinating the use of FAO's technical and economic knowledge with IBRD and IDA financial resources in the promotion of agricultural development. The agreement for this joint program is, essentially, a cost-sharing arrangement under which IBRD pays 75 percent and FAO 25 percent of the cost of specialists assigned to identifying and developing projects for financing by the IBRD. The budget for the 1966-67 biennium was \$2.2 million; FAO's share was \$550,000.

Since this program began in 1964 some 120 projects have been identified, prepared, and/or appraised. Nearly 70 of them originated in FAO and covered fields such as forestry, area development, land settlement, water resources development, flood

control, livestock, tree crop development, rain-fed agriculture, and agricultural credit.

#### **U.N./FAO WORLD FOOD PROGRAM**

The World Food Program (WFP), sponsored jointly by the United Nations and FAO, was established in 1962 as a 3-year experiment in multi-lateral food aid. Seventy nations pledged about \$93 million to support the program from 1963 to 1965. After reviewing WFP operations for this period, the United Nations and FAO voted to establish the program on a continuing basis and to adopt a goal of \$275 million for 1966-68. So far total pledges for the 1966-68 period have amounted to about \$168 million in commodities, services, and cash.

When the 12th session of the U.N./FAO Intergovernmental Committee met in October 1967, the WFP Executive Director reported that since January 1, 1966, WFP had undertaken emergency projects in 24 countries. The total cost to WFP of these operations was \$26.5 million. Since the beginning of the program 229 development projects, including 35 extensions, had been approved. The total cost to WFP of these projects was estimated at \$175 million.

During 1967 the United Nations and FAO approved a new WFP pledging target, recommended by the Intergovernmental Committee, of \$200 million for 1969 and 1970. The United States concurred in this recommendation.

## **International Labor Organization**

#### **INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE**

The International Labor Conference is the standards-setting body of the ILO. Member states are represented by tripartite delegations: one

worker, one employer, and two government delegates, each with a separate vote. The 51st session, in June, was attended by delegations from 109 of the 118 ILO member states.

The Conference adopted two conventions and four recommendations, bringing to 128 and 131, respectively, the number of international instruments on labor standards adopted since the ILO's founding in 1919. The new instruments were: a convention and a recommendation on the maximum permissible weight to be carried by one worker; a convention and a recommendation concerning old-age, invalid, and survivors' pensions; a recommendation on the examination of grievances within the undertaking; and a recommendation on communications between management and workers within the undertaking.

The Conference adopted resolutions on international cooperation for economic and social development, the influence of rapid population growth on opportunities for training and employment and on the welfare of workers, occupational health and special measures to be taken for the prevention and control of occupational cancer, the international covenants on human rights and the measures that the ILO should adopt in regard thereto, the ILO and agrarian reform, and the ILO and technical cooperation.

The Conference dealt with the ILO budget and adopted a net expenditure budget of \$24,836,091 for 1968 as compared with \$22,472,398 for 1967. The U.S. Government delegates voted against the resolution on the budget because it also included adjustments in the scale of assessments that, in the U.S. view, tended to undermine the financial stability of the organization. The adjustments increased the rates of assessment for three of the major contributors to the organization without prior consultation with the governments concerned. They were projected as the first in a series that envisaged the complete align-

ment of the U.N. and the ILO scales of assessment (taking into account the differences in the membership of the two organizations). The U.S. Government does not agree with this ultimate objective and indicated it would not support adjustments that were stages in a long-term plan toward such a goal.

Ultimate alignment of the two scales of assessments would involve an increase in the U.S. assessment above its present rate of 25 percent. The United States cannot agree to any increase in this assessment rate, as its present rate is at the ceiling set by Public Law 85-477 of June 30, 1958. The scale adopted for 1968 did not increase the U.S. assessment.

#### **ILO GOVERNING BODY**

The ILO Governing Body met three times during 1967. It also is tripartite, having 24 government members (the 10 states of chief industrial importance have automatic membership and 14 states are elected for 3-year terms by the government group of the Conference), and 12 employer and 12 worker members elected by their respective groups in the Conference.

The Governing Body reviews and recommends the ILO budget to the Conference; supervises the International Labor Office (secretariat); determines the agenda of the Conference; appoints, convenes, and reviews the work of various committees and other bodies; reviews complaints of alleged violations of freedom of association; and generally acts as the board of directors of the organization.

On February 27, the Governing Body unanimously reelected David A. Morse as Director General of the International Labor Office for a further term of 5 years beginning in September 1968. Mr. Morse, a former Acting U.S. Secretary of Labor, first took office as Director General in September 1948.

#### **U.S. REPRESENTATION**

George L-P Weaver, Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, Department of Labor, continued to represent the U.S. Government on the Governing Body in 1967. He was also chairman and one of two government delegates on the U.S. delegation to the International Labor Conference. George P. Delaney, Special Assistant to the Secretary and Coordinator of International Labor Affairs, Department of State, was the other U.S. Government Delegate. Edwin P. Neilan, Chairman of the Board and President, Bank of Delaware, was the employer delegate, and Rudolph Faupl, International Representative of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, was the worker delegate. Messrs. Faupl and Neilan are also members of the ILO Governing Body. Senators Wayne L. Morse and Jacob K. Javits and Congressmen John Ashbrook, William H. Ayres, James G. O'Hara, and Frank Thompson, Jr., served as congressional advisers to the U.S. delegation to the conference.

#### **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**

The United States has consistently supported the growth of ILO technical assistance activities. During 1967 the organization administered some \$17,600,000 from a variety of sources—UNDP, the regular ILO budget, and funds-in-trust—in carrying out technical assistance programs. The geographic distribution of the expenditures was: Africa 39.2 percent, Latin America 22.7 percent, Asia 25.2 percent, Middle East 5.0 percent, Europe 4.3 percent, and interregional projects 3.6 percent. More than half of the technical assistance was in the general field of human resources development, including manpower organization, vocational training, and productivity and management development. Work also continued in the field of social security, occupational

safety and health, vocational rehabilitation, labor conditions and administration, industrial relations, workers' education, and vocational rehabilitation.

In order to strengthen its operational programs, the ILO continued to decentralize its activities and expand its network of field offices, placing them under the control of regional coordinators. This has resulted in a greater administrative responsibility in the field, a more rapid response to national and regional needs, and a more effective ILO operational program of technical assistance.

## United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

### EDUCATION

During 1967 education continued to be the major area of emphasis within UNESCO. In response to the needs of developing countries, the organization focused much of its effort on assistance in educational planning and increased its assistance to governments seeking to develop economically sound educational programs. The UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning continued throughout the year to expand its training activities and to publish the results of its research in this field during the past 3 years.

As a result of a growing demand among member states for new techniques in the field of education, UNESCO reorganized its Education Department along functional lines so that it will be better able to apply new methods and techniques such as programmed instruction and the use of television. The reorganization also provided for increased research and a wider dissemination of information in this field.

The United States took part in a variety of meetings sponsored or co-sponsored by UNESCO in 1967, ranging from workshops for teachers to a conference of the Ministers of Education of Europe. The latter conference, held in Vienna November 20-25 and attended by 28 states, was noteworthy as the first to bring together at the ministerial level representatives from the European member states of UNESCO. The conference discussed questions related to access to higher education, on the one hand from the point of view of the varied social, economic, and cultural origins of the students, and on the other hand from the point of view of the needs of the community. It reflected in its conclusions very strong tendencies toward democratization of education. There is every reason to believe that UNESCO can contribute to the acceleration of this process and at the same time promote increased international cooperation in the field of higher education.

UNESCO cosponsored with the International Bureau of Education (IBE) an International Conference on Public Education, held in Geneva, July 6-15. The United States took part in this conference, which adopted recommendations concerning the shortage of secondary school teachers and the teaching of health education. During 1967 the IBE, an independent international organization located in Geneva, began discussions with UNESCO regarding a new relationship between the two organizations. A draft agreement that would have the IBE serve as a comparative education center within the framework of UNESCO is expected to be presented to the 15th UNESCO General Conference for approval.

UNESCO was prominently involved in the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education held at Williamsburg, Virginia, October 5-9. The Director General was among the principal speakers, and the staff of the organization's International Institute for Educational Planning prepared

the main theme paper for the conference. (See also p. 82.)

In response to UNESCO's experimental world literacy program (a result of the 1965 World Congress on the Eradication of Illiteracy), more than 48 nations have requested UNESCO's assistance in planning functional literacy projects linked with national economic development. Since the program began, UNESCO has sent missions of experts to 29 countries; the most recent went to Bolivia, Nepal, Malaysia, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, and Liberia.

UNESCO has assumed full responsibility for planning, executing, and evaluating large-scale work-oriented literacy pilot projects in six developing countries—Algeria, Ecuador, Guinea, Iran, Mali, and Tanzania. Most of these projects, funded in part by the UNDP, make special provision for the education of girls, women and out-of-school youth—three priority educational sectors for which UNESCO is responsible.

To supply the necessary trained manpower for these six projects UNESCO organized two successful seminars, in Sardinia and France, which provided training for 43 leaders and teachers and an introduction to the newest developments in the organizing and conduct of national programs in functional literacy.

In a related project, and for the benefit of Arab and Latin American states, UNESCO is completing plans to convert into centers for functional literacy in rural areas its regional community education centers at Sirs-el-Layyan, U.A.R., and Patzcuaro, Mexico.

With some success UNESCO is continuing its efforts to engage the support of the developed nations for its world literacy program. The Scandinavian countries supplied printing equipment and paper for the Tanzanian project; a private Swiss firm provided radio sets for the projects in Senegal and Mali; and the Netherlands provided mobile printing presses for Iran and Indonesia.

During 1967 UNESCO continued to promote and coordinate such long-term international research activities as the International Biological Program and the International Hydrological Decade. Similarly, the UNESCO-supported Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) provided coordinated planning for the joint research activities of member states in a field in which the United States is particularly interested. While continuing to collate its research data from joint expeditions in the Indian Ocean, the tropical Atlantic, and the Kuroshio Current of the western Pacific, the IOC at its meeting in late 1967 agreed to undertake further joint oceanographic research projects in the Mediterranean and Caribbean.

UNESCO exercised its traditional function of organizing meetings and symposia to permit scientists from many countries in various disciplines to share their knowledge and exchange views. In 1967 these included, for example, meetings on the results of the international quiet sun years, marine pollution, the establishment of an absolute geochronological scale, floods and their computation, neural communication, geophysical theory and computers, geothermal energy, hydrological forecasting, and coastal lagoons. The intellectual exchange inherent in such meetings is particularly important to the United States in view of its annual federal budget of \$16 billion for scientific research and development. In cooperation with the International Council of Scientific Unions UNESCO began feasibility studies relating to the possible establishment of a worldwide scientific and technological information exchange system.

As in previous years, UNESCO provided developing countries with experts and technical assistance in the sciences, concentrating particularly on science planning and science education. The UNESCO Executive Board

approved a tentative 5-year science program for less developed countries to be submitted to ECOSOC's Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Development. That Committee will collate UNESCO's contribution with that of other U.N. specialized agencies in developing a "World Plan of Action" (see p. 128).

#### **SOCIAL AND HUMAN SCIENCES**

UNESCO continued to focus in 1967 on (1) expanding international cooperation among social scientists; (2) providing clearinghouse service in the social sciences; (3) extending social science teaching and research; and (4) applying social science research, techniques, and methods to specific problems of economic and social development.

UNESCO began the second part of its comprehensive international study on trends of research in the social and human sciences. This part will cover history, international law, and the critical study of art and literature. The first part of the study, to be completed in 1968, covers demography, linguistics, psychology, social and cultural anthropology, sociology, political science, and economics.

One of the most significant developments during the year was the increased emphasis given the field of population problems and family planning—an emphasis strongly advocated by the United States. On the basis of a report by a special committee of experts the Executive Board at its 77th meeting approved for the first time a number of recommendations that confirm UNESCO's responsibility to take part in the coordinated U.N. program in the field of population. This represents a significant gain by committing UNESCO to make an effective contribution to the U.N. effort to cope with the population explosion.

As a part of its series on "The University Teaching of Social Sciences," UNESCO published an international survey of the programs and methods

used in teaching international law. In addition to taking stock of the present situation, the study constituted an attempt to determine what should be the future orientation of the teaching of international law.

The American social science community is becoming increasingly involved in UNESCO programs. U.S. scholars and scientists are being asked, both individually and through their learned societies and councils, to contribute program ideas to help UNESCO carry out its commitments to intellectual cooperation and the promotion of human welfare. During 1967 an American, Dr. Harry Alpert, Dean of Faculties at the University of Oregon, became Director of the UNESCO Department of Social Sciences.

#### **CULTURE**

Following decisions taken at its 14th General Conference in the fall of 1966, UNESCO initiated a survey of cultural programs and policies in its member states. The survey will help clarify the needs of states both in encouraging cultural activity among their own people and in carrying out cultural exchanges with other nations. It will serve as the basis for planning UNESCO's future cultural programs.

During recent years UNESCO has taken the lead in programs to preserve and restore the monuments and treasures of man's cultural heritage. The Campaign for the Preservation of the Nubian Monuments, launched in 1961, is proceeding satisfactorily. Almost all of the important monuments, with the exception of those on Philae, have now been removed to safety. The preservation of Abu Simbel is ahead of schedule. Both temples have been fully reconstructed at their new site, and work is underway on the concrete domes that will bear the weight of the artificial hills which will be constructed to simulate the original setting.

Immediately after the great floods in northern Italy in November 1966

UNESCO launched an international campaign to save and restore the art treasures, libraries, and archives in Florence and Venice. During 1967 surveys of needs were made and distributed to member states, and contributions collected. Using facilities in Rome provided by the International Center for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, UNESCO set up a liaison office and clearinghouse to match experts with jobs needed.

The UNESCO-sponsored Convention on the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict was implemented for the first time during the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict. The Convention specifies the measures to be taken to protect historical and artistic treasures during periods of conflict and military occupation. Parties to the Convention agree not to use cultural treasures for purposes that will expose them to destruction or damage, and to protect them from theft, pillage, vandalism, or reprisals. Of special significance in the Middle East conflict were the many religious shrines in Jerusalem and the pyramids in the U.A.R.

In accordance with the terms of the Convention, Switzerland has been designated the neutral state to act as intermediary, and two commissioners-general for cultural property have been selected and accredited, one to the Arab states and one to Israel. These commissioners-general are charged with supervising the application of the Convention in the territories to which they are accredited.

In the newly organized program of cultural studies a number of projects were initiated in 1967 to bring about international cooperation in subjects of common interest. These include the preparation of a guide to the sources of African history, a study of civilizations of the peoples of Central Asia, and a study—with exhibition and publications—on the interaction of Japanese and Western art as a result of the Meiji restoration.

One of UNESCO's chief functions is to serve as a clearinghouse for information. In 1967 the quarterly magazine, *Museum*, maintained its high degree of professionalism and usefulness, especially to museum directors, curators, and technicians entrusted with mounting exhibitions. Another quarterly, *Newsletter of the UNESCO Regional Center for Reading Materials*, published in Karachi, provided information on book activities such as training courses, prizes to encourage authors, exhibitions, and book fairs, in order to stimulate book production throughout the Asian region.

UNESCO continued to prepare and publish translations of significant literary works and books and slides on art and art education. A new exhibition, "Painting from 1900 to 1925," was made available for circulation in member states. Designed for display in art galleries, museums, educational institutions, and cultural centers, the exhibition contains 90 reproductions of representative works illustrating art trends and movements during the first quarter of the century.

#### COMMUNICATION

In 1967 the UNESCO program in communication emphasized promotion of the free flow of information and educational, scientific, and cultural materials; the development and expansion of information media facilities, particularly in the developing countries; and clearinghouse and communication support services to other UNESCO program areas.

A significant development was the rapid expansion of the long-range program to promote book development in Asia. The program began in 1964 at a meeting sponsored by the U.S. Agency for International Development in Warrenton, Virginia. In May 1965 a UNESCO-convened conference in Tokyo drew up a comprehensive program for the production and distribution of books in Asia. During 1967 much progress was made



by the nations of the area, with the help of UNESCO, in developing their own book programs. Six countries have proposed or already established national book councils, and a regional graphic arts center will be established in Tokyo, possibly by the end of 1968. Four national development banks agreed to consider applications for loans in support of publishing and printing enterprises, and national book plans have been proposed or drawn up in a number of nations.

This program offers an opportunity for a coordinated approach to a significant developmental goal. The U.S. Agency for International Development is working with UNESCO in areas of mutual interest in this program, and the governments of Australia, Japan, and New Zealand have offered bilateral assistance. Other U.N. agencies such as UNICEF, FAO, and ECAFE are also involved.

In a related activity, UNESCO sponsored a meeting of experts on library development in Asia during December to consider a concerted plan of action for linking library development both to book production and distribution and to educational planning.

Another significant area of UNESCO activity is its promotion of the use of space communication for educational, scientific, and cultural purposes. This includes the ultimate use of television for educational and cultural exchange which will be possible through the availability of communication satellites. The United States has succeeded in encouraging this program to emphasize the need for developing educational materials appropriate for transmission by television. In November and December UNESCO sent an expert team to India to advise the government on the feasibility of a pilot project for the use of satellite communication for educational and economic development in that country. An expert committee, which includes Dr. Wilbur Schramm of the Stanford Research Institute,

is advising the Director General of UNESCO on all aspects of this program.

## World Health Organization

In 1967 WHO, with 126 members and 3 associate members, completed the second decade of its campaign to provide "the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health" for all the peoples of the world. In its continuing efforts both to stamp out existing disease and to raise general health standards, WHO supported over 700 separate projects throughout the world. These projects clustered in three major areas: direct assistance to improve national health services; general services important to all nations, such as worldwide surveillance for the outbreak of contagious diseases; and coordination of medical research on health problems of international importance.

### WORLD HEALTH ASSEMBLY

Some 500 delegates and advisers representing WHO members, together with more than 100 observers from 65 organizations representing the United Nations, U.N. specialized agencies, and nongovernmental health organizations that have official relations with WHO, met in Geneva May 8-26, 1967, for the 20th World Health Assembly (WHA). The U.S. Surgeon General Dr. William H. Stewart led the 21-member U.S. delegation.

In addressing the WHA, the Surgeon General emphasized that in the U.S. view health needs, particularly the manpower shortages, require three related courses of action: increasing training capacity to augment the supply of medical personnel; better use of existing manpower; and experimentation with new kinds of health workers and health teams. The Surgeon General noted that in the context of WHO's work the greatest importance should be placed on experimentation

in training techniques. He cited as an example the Duke University Medical School's current experiment with a 2-year curriculum to train doctors' assistants for duties that now consume the time but not the highest skills of physicians. Dr. Stewart urged that a new strong emphasis be given to the training of auxiliary workers in health and said he envisioned for WHO an important role of leadership and coordination in the worldwide development of basic health manpower.

The health aspects of population dynamics was the subject of a special report by the WHO Director General. He noted that WHO had been concerned with the study of human reproduction since 1963 and that a separate Human Reproduction Unit was established in 1965. Further, WHO-sponsored study groups have recommended that the organization set standards for clinical studies and for the collection and evaluation of data pertaining to the use of the various fertility regulation agents. WHO is now studying these recommendations. The Director General said that on request WHO will continue to support training programs in the public health aspect of human reproduction and is prepared to assist in the organization of training and research centers on human reproduction in medical schools and schools of public health. During the Assembly, WHO adopted a resolution, supported by the United States, that endorsed the work of the organization in this field and requested the Director General both to continue to develop WHO activities and to assist, on request, in national research projects and in the training of teachers and professional staff.

#### **MEDICAL MANPOWER AND HEALTH SERVICES**

WHO gives high priority to the problem of helping to meet the shortage of technical and scientific personnel, as well as improving the general level of national health administrative services. During 1967 WHO provided

assistance to 57 countries in the area of public health administration and to 114 countries for education and training. In these activities WHO often worked with UNICEF or the UNDP, with WHO supplying the needed technical personnel and the other agencies meeting the needs for supplies and equipment. WHO activities were as varied as the needs; for example, it provided assistance to Argentina in developing provincial health services, and to the Republic of China in assessing its future health programs. In 22 countries WHO sponsored education and training programs designed to improve the curriculum or pedagogical standards in the medical and public health schools. To meet the increasing world demand for more, and more highly qualified, health personnel, WHO assisted in the creation or operation of nursing programs in 78 countries. In British Honduras, for example, WHO is developing a basic program which stresses education not only in the traditional aspects of health and nursing but also in the principles of social and community development. In Nepal, WHO specialists helped establish a basic nursing school to provide qualified nurse/midwives, to upgrade the hospital nursing services, and to improve facilities for student nurses. Wherever practicable, WHO organizes and supports regional programs to meet shortages of trained technicians; typical of these is a Middle East project providing a 2-year course for training instructors in medical radiology, radiodiagnosis, radiotherapy, and radioisotope work.

The need of both mother and child to special care and to live and develop in a healthy manner is recognized by WHO through 16 country programs, ranging in scope from one in Thailand designed to improve pediatric education, with emphasis on its promotional and preventative aspects, to one in Libya designed to strengthen that nation's midwife and child health services.

## ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH

It is axiomatic that improvements must be made in the environmental conditions that relate to the health of the community if the individual level of health is to be permanently raised.

The creation, expansion, or improvement of national sanitation services and facilities must be both a predecessor and companion to education and to antipestilence activities in health. WHO programs continued to promote better environmental health services and conditions. In 40 nations, as geographically varied as Afghanistan and El Salvador, particular attention was given to developing community water supplies. Illustrative of other programs was the assistance given Chad to establish a sanitary unit, formulate a sanitation program, and train personnel. WHO's environmental health activities are not limited to the less developed countries; for example, fellowships were established in Japan for work on urban sanitation, noise control, and the use of food additives.

## COMMUNICABLE DISEASES

The fight against communicable diseases continues to absorb the largest single share of the WHO budget. A program aimed at the total eradication of malaria, begun in 1955 as the greatest drive ever undertaken in the field of public health, received top priority in all but a few of the 40 countries that received WHO malaria control assistance during 1967. The results of this continuing campaign are impressive: currently, over three-quarters of the population living in originally malarious areas (excluding Communist China, North Viet-Nam, and North Korea because data are unavailable) are now in areas either from which malaria has been eradicated or in which programs are underway. The delay in completing the campaign underscores a major problem in world health activities: the anti-malaria struggle is hampered by

technical difficulties and a lack of trained personnel. This is particularly true in sub-Sahara Africa where in all but two countries WHO assistance for malaria eradication must first concentrate on the development of basic health services capable of conducting professionally and technically qualified programs. WHO is providing such assistance to Cameroon, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, and Liberia, among others.

In 1967 WHO began a decade-long effort to eradicate smallpox. With WHO technical assistance and multi-lateral and bilateral financial support 16 countries experiencing smallpox began eradication programs during the year. Twenty-one nations not experiencing smallpox, although the disease is endemic to them, either initiated or continued vaccination or surveillance programs. The program for the Americas includes a regional plan to achieve eradication within 5 years.

Because of the increase in instances of cholera during 1966 WHO's Director General convened a meeting early in 1967 of the representatives of the nations concerned to consider measures that might aid in preventing an outbreak of cholera or, in the event of an occurrence, limiting its spread. During the year WHO maintained two cholera control teams on a contingency basis ready to assist wherever needed. WHO also continued its country and intercountry activities designed to study, control, or eradicate other communicable diseases that constitute major health threats, including assistance to 11 countries for tuberculosis control. Interregional programs providing advisory services, distribution of technical documents, assistance for training centers, and research projects sought to meet the threats posed by venereal diseases, plague, leprosy, and sleeping sickness, among others.

## RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

A special WHO project, the International Agency for Research on Can-

cer (IARC), began in 1967 both to develop its own research programs and to collaborate fully with established cancer research centers. Supported by contributions from nine governments, including the United States, IARC is headed by an American citizen and housed in quarters provided by the Government of France.

Another new activity, a WHO pilot project for international drug monitoring, designed to collate data on the adverse effects of drugs, was initiated during the year with the assistance of a grant from the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. The project, located in Washington, resulted from a 1965 offer to the 18th WHA by the United States of facilities for this purpose.

Other WHO activities designed to aid in the coordination of medical research included the adoption of "WHO Nomenclature Regulations—1967," which is a revision of the "International Classification of Diseases and Causes of Deaths." Also, the second edition of the "International Pharmacopoeia," published in 1967, provides specifications for an additional 162 pharmaceutical preparations which were not included in the first edition.

Twenty-seven new International Reference Centers—nine in the United States—were established in 1967, raising to 145 the world total of such centers maintained to collect and correlate findings from research undertaken under different circumstances.

#### **AWARDS**

At the 20th Assembly WHO awarded its outstanding citation, the Leon Bernard Foundation Prize, to Dr. Fred Lowe Soper of the United States "in recognition of his outstanding services in the field of social medicine." Dr. Soper spent many years with the Rockefeller Foundation and prior to his retirement spent 12 years as Regional Director of the Pan American Health Organization.

During the Health Assembly the U.S. delegation presented, as a gift from the National Library of Medicine to the WHO Library, a three-panel engraving depicting the occurrence of plague in Rome during the mid-17th century. The gift was accepted by the WHO Director General at a special ceremony held at the headquarters building.

## **International Civil Aviation Organization**

### **CHARGES FOR AIRPORTS AND ROUTE AIR NAVIGATION FACILITIES**

In early spring of 1967 ICAO held a Conference at its headquarters in Montreal to consider the manner in which operators of aircraft on international flights are charged for their use of airports and air navigation facilities. The Conference recommended that in general ICAO members exercise caution in their charging policies, and that they take into account the effect both on the aircraft operators and on the economy of the countries concerned.

The Conference made a number of specific recommendations designed to standardize the basis for charges, consolidate as many fees as possible, ensure that users were not indiscriminately charged for facilities and services they did not use, prevent discrimination among users in levying charges, and prevent duplication of charges.

The United States objected to the imposition of service charges directly on passengers, maintaining that they were not justified and did not relate to identifiable services and costs. The Conference decided, however, that they were not objectionable in principle and recommended that the International Air Transport Association study the problem of collecting the charges with a minimum of inconvenience to passengers.

The Conference cautioned that charges for route air navigation facilities should not be imposed in such a way as to discourage either the use of facilities or services necessary for safety, or the introduction of new aids and techniques.

The Conference requested the ICAO Council to affirm the principle that the providers of air route facilities and services for international aviation may require the users to pay their share of the cost of providing them, regardless of when the utilization takes place. The Council was also asked to initiate studies to provide information upon which route facilities charges could be based. One of these studies will be an investigation of methods to solve possible problems in the collection of charges when an aircraft does not fly over the provider country's territory.

#### **ALL-WEATHER OPERATION OF AIRCRAFT**

The United States is a member of the ICAO All-Weather Operations Panel, which held its third meeting at ICAO Headquarters in April. This meeting was attended by the nine members of the Panel and 32 advisers. The meeting considered information submitted by governments concerning research, development, and implementation programs related to the introduction of categories II and III aircraft operations. Of particular interest were the development in the United States and Australia of testing devices for attachment to aircraft windshields to simulate low visibility conditions during approach and landing. The meeting believed such devices would be very useful for pilot training and for research and development flights.

The Panel prepared a new ICAO document specifically on calibration and flight testing of category II Instrument Landing System (ILS) ground facilities. In addition, it made progress in defining critical ILS interference areas on the airport and in the approach path and revised the list of required category II ground fac-

ilities. Some new information was made available concerning all-weather systems assessment and tentative values were established for aircraft performance when flying levelly. Steps were also taken toward achieving international standardization of Runway Visual Range devices by reaching agreement on the statistical values to be used. Although considerable development and experimentation is still required in this area, gradual progress is apparent.

#### **NATIONALITY AND REGISTRATION OF AIRCRAFT OPERATED BY INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES**

The United States attended the 16th session of the ICAO Legal Committee, held in Paris in September 1967, which devoted most of its time to examining problems of nationality and registration of aircraft operated by international agencies.

The Committee's report on this matter constituted its advice to the ICAO Council on the interpretation and application of the second sentence of article 77 of the Convention on International Civil Aviation, which states that "The Council shall determine in what manner the provisions of the Convention relating to nationality of aircraft shall apply to aircraft operated by international operating agencies."

The Committee's advice related to cases in which an aircraft of an international operating agency is not registered on a national basis in a given country. Specifically, the aircraft might be on a nonnational register established by the governments that constitute the operating agency ("joint registration") or the aircraft might be registered with an international organization constituted by governments ("international registration"). In the opinion of the Committee a determination by the Council pursuant to article 77 would be binding on all parties to the Convention. In the case of jointly or internationally registered aircraft which fulfilled certain crite-

ria, the rights and obligations under the Convention would be applicable just as in the case of nationally registered aircraft of an ICAO member country. The criteria developed by the Legal Committee were designed to assure compliance with the provisions of the Chicago Convention even though the aircraft might be registered on other than a national basis.

In December 1967 the ICAO Council adopted a resolution based on the criteria and conditions arrived at by the Legal Committee. As a consequence, governments constituting an international operating agency can now file with the Council appropriate information relating to their plans for joint or international registration of the aircraft operated by the agency. The Council will then apply the criteria to the particular plan for joint or international registration in order to determine whether the plan should be implemented.

#### **SOUTH AMERICAN/SOUTH ATLANTIC REGIONAL AIR NAVIGATION MEETING**

Ways to improve air navigation facilities and services in an era of expanding operations were formulated at ICAO's Third South American/South Atlantic Regional Air Navigation Meeting, held in Buenos Aires, September-October 1967. The meeting determined that a number of additional airports are required and established requirements for runway length, pavement strength, approach lighting, runway lights, markers, and other visual aids in each case. Because water on runways is a frequently encountered problem in this region, new techniques to improve drainage of runways and aircraft braking action on wet runways were examined.

The meeting made recommendations for better planning of the aeronautical telecommunications facilities, greater use of available systems, and basic improvements in communications centers including plans for automation. It paid particular attention to the implementation of recommend-

ed Aeronautical Fixed Telecommunication Network (AFTN) Communication Centers and the provision of adequate equipment to ensure the attainment of established AFTN transit times.

The networks of air traffic services routes were revised to accord with current and planned aircraft operations. In view of possible long-range operations to New Zealand and South Africa, the meeting recommended that flight information services be provided for parts of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans where not previously required. The extension of search and rescue areas over the oceans was recommended and provision was made for a number of additional facilities, including helicopters.

The meeting provided for an Area Forecast System that will serve flights both within the region and to the Caribbean, Africa, and Europe. It also provided for a centralized forecast service for international general aviation. The meeting reviewed shortcomings in the current provision of aeronautical information and charts and made a number of suggestions for more efficient operations. One of its most important results was the establishment of a coordinated implementation program for the installation of new facilities and the implementation of newly recommended services.

#### **FIFTH AIR NAVIGATION CONFERENCE**

How to improve the safety and efficiency of international air operations in the approach, landing, and take-off phases was the central theme of the Fifth ICAO Air Navigation Conference, held at Montreal in the late fall of 1967. Specific subjects considered were approach and take-off; movement of aircraft and vehicles on the ground; categories and characteristics of land airports; visual and nonvisual aids at airports; airport services; information for the approach, landing, take-off, and ground movement of aircraft; and procedures for describing

noise in the vicinity of airports. The fourth session of the WMO Commission for Aeronautical Meteorology met with the Conference to consider the meteorological aspects of airport services and the scope, form, and manner of transmission of weather information to aircraft. (See also p. 176.)

## Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

The effectiveness of IMCO as an international forum for the development of higher standards of ship safety was emphasized in 1967 by its rapid response to the challenges posed by the March stranding and subsequent total loss of the tanker *Torrey Canyon* off the southwest coast of England. The pollution of beaches and shorelines and the damage to marine life caused by this accident brought to world attention the need to minimize the future possibility of such accidents and to mitigate their effects should they occur.

The IMCO Council convened in special session in May to develop a work program in the field of prevention of tanker accidents and oil pollution. In accordance with this program several subcommittees of IMCO's principal technical body, the Maritime Safety Committee, were active in 1967. The Subcommittee on Safety of Navigation and the Subcommittee on Oil Pollution recommended amendments to the Convention for Safety of Life at Sea and the Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil. The Subcommittee on Ship Design and Equipment began a study on possible new rules needed in its area of competence. All three subcommittees will report their conclusions to the Maritime Safety Committee in 1968.

In June the Council established a permanent Legal Committee to deal with all legal matters of importance to the international maritime community. The Committee's first task was consideration of the legal implications of the *Torrey Canyon* disaster, and it developed recommendations for international acceptance in the field of oil pollution prevention.

At its regular biennial meeting, October 17-31, the IMCO Assembly adopted six amendments to the Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea. The most important of these constitutes a new set of rules for the future construction of passenger ships. This completed the revision of passenger ship fire safety standards which the United States initiated in IMCO following the *Yarmouth Castle* fire during a cruise from Florida in 1965.

The Assembly approved by acclamation the appointment by the Council in June of E. C. V. Goad of the United Kingdom to a 4-year term as Secretary General, effective January 1, 1968. Mr. Goad succeeds Jean Roullier of France. In addition the Assembly elected a new Council to serve until the next regular Assembly in 1969. This was the first Council elected under amended articles 17 and 18 of the IMCO Convention which expanded the membership from 16 to 18 and changed the election procedure and membership criteria. The United States was reelected to the Council.

In 1967 the Convention on the Facilitation of International Maritime Traffic came into effect; the United States deposited its acceptance on March 17. This Convention was adopted under the auspices of IMCO and is expected to minimize paperwork in connection with international shipping.

IMCO continued its activities on a wide variety of other technical subjects, including radiocommunications, ship subdivision and stability, life saving appliances, handling of dangerous goods, and tonnage measurement.

# International Telecommunication Union

The new International Telecommunication Convention, drawn up at the Plenipotentiary Conference held in Montreux, Switzerland, in 1965, came into force on January 1, 1967; the United States deposited its ratification of the Convention on May 29, 1967. The Convention will govern ITU activities until the next Plenipotentiary Conference, scheduled for 1971. With the accession of the Maldiv Islands, Guyana, Lesotho, and Barbados to the Convention, the membership of the ITU increased to 133.

The Deputy Secretary General, Dr. Mohamed Mili of Tunisia, became Secretary General ad interim on the sudden death in February of the Secretary General, Dr. Manojar B. Sarwate of India. Dr. Mili will serve until the next Plenipotentiary Conference.

During the year the ITU consultative committees continued their technical studies on radiotelephone and telegraph and on radio techniques in space communications, with emphasis on communications satellites, direct broadcasting by satellite, navigational satellites, and tracking and telecommand techniques in outer space. The ITU General Secretariat continued to serve as a central collection point to receive detailed technical information from member states on the progress they have made in studying and applying space techniques to the future development of telecommunications and the knowledge of outer space and its use for peaceful purposes. Seventeen countries, including the United States, contributed to this program.

## ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

The 29-state Administrative Council met in Geneva May 6-26. The

United States was represented by C. Hoyte Price, Director of the Office of Telecommunications, Department of State.

The Council adopted a gross budget of 22,772,400 Swiss francs for 1968. After taking into account other income and prior year surpluses, the assessments on members totaled 21,500,400 Swiss francs. The U.S. share, at 11.66 percent, amounted to 2,508,000 Swiss francs (approximately \$582,000).

The Council approved a partial reorganization of the Technical Cooperation Department of the ITU secretariat in order to increase its effectiveness. The reorganization will enable the department to provide quicker responses to countries on questions involving the improvement of their telecommunications services.

The Council also approved the *Sixth Report by the ITU on Telecommunications and the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space*, covering the period May 1966-April 1967, and submitted it to both the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and ECOSOC.

## WORLD ADMINISTRATIVE RADIO CONFERENCE

The World Administrative Radio Conference on the Maritime Mobile Service met in Geneva, September 18-November 3. Some 300 delegates from 70 member countries attended. Federal Communications Commissioner Robert T. Bartley chaired the U.S. delegation. The Conference made the first revisions of the radio regulations governing the maritime mobile service since 1959, taking into account changes in maritime radio requirements. Since 1959 there has been a significant drop in the number of passenger ships. At the same time there has been a tremendous rise in the number of cargo ships, fishing fleets, and noncommercial pleasure craft whose radio communications re-



quirements represent a considerable increase in the demand for radiotelephone and radiotelegraph channels. A realignment of channels to meet this change was successfully accomplished. The conference also dealt with the accommodation of frequency requirements for the transmission of oceanographic data, for narrow-band direct-printing telegraph systems, and for data transmission systems. Other important decisions concerned the use of the selective calling system for shore-to-ship communications, conditions governing the use of emergency position-indicating radio beacons, and other measures to increase safety at sea. The Final Acts of the conference are subject to ratification by member states.

#### **CHARTER STUDY GROUP**

The Charter Study Group, 10 experts selected in 1966 by the Administrative Council to draft a new constitution for the ITU, met in Geneva December 4-10. William Watkins, Assistant Chief Engineer, U.S. Federal Communications Commission, was one of the 10. The experts completed a first draft for a charter based upon the present Convention, but will consider it further in meetings scheduled for 1968 and 1969 before presenting it to the Plenipotentiary Conference in 1971. The goal of the Study Group is to separate the organizational and policy elements from the technical regulatory and administrative functions. These are all combined in the present Convention and accordingly require renegotiation and reratification by member states every 6 years. The Administrative Council, at its meeting in 1967, requested member nations to submit their views on the proposed charter to the Study Group through ITU headquarters. Replies were received from 28 countries by the time the Study Group met; the United States resubmitted

the charter proposals it had made to the Montreux Conference in 1965.

#### **INTERNATIONAL FREQUENCY REGISTRATION BOARD (IFRB)**

The IFRB was reduced by the 1967 Montreux Conference from 11 to 5 members, effective January 1, 1967. This decrease partially reflected U.S. views that the IFRB should be dissolved and its functions absorbed by other administrative elements at ITU headquarters. One of the major tasks of the reduced Board was the preparation of technical and analytical studies on frequency requirements for the World Administrative Radio Conference on the Maritime Mobile Service (see above).

#### **INTERNATIONAL RADIO CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (CCIR)**

The CCIR did not meet in 1967, but its 15 study groups continued their work on technical and operating matters within the radio communications field. Several of the CCIR study groups were also engaged in the preparation of technical handbooks on radio operations, primarily to help the new and developing countries increase the effectiveness of telecommunications in their countries. The Director of the CCIR conducted a seminar on radiocommunications for engineers from new and developing countries in Geneva in November.

#### **INTERNATIONAL TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE (CCITT)**

Fourteen study groups and 25 working parties of the CCITT met during the year. Significant progress was made in the fields of telephone transmission, switching, and signaling, and in the further development of automatic and semiautomatic networks. In addition, encouraging progress was made toward developing worldwide routing plans and standards for data transmission. Work is proceeding on a proposed revision of the Telegraph

Regulations to increase flexibility by reducing the number of provisions having treaty force.

#### **CCITT-CCIR PLAN COMMITTEES**

The Plan Committee for Africa met during the spring in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. This was the final regional committee meeting prior to the second meeting of the World Plan Committee in Mexico City, October 30–November 15. At Mexico City the World Plan Committee completed traffic and circuit projections, and arteries and routing plans for 1970–75. It also brought up to date the numbering plan for the worldwide telephone and telex networks.

#### **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**

As a UNDP executing agency, the ITU continued to expand its technical assistance programs. The ITU continued its implementation of 15 preinvestment projects, most of them relating to national or regional telecommunications centers. Four new projects were approved by the UNDP Governing Council during 1967 and requests for new training centers in Pakistan, Indonesia, and the Sudan were prepared for submission to the UNDP Council session in January 1968.

During the year 58 technical assistance positions were authorized, bringing the total to 210 experts in 90 countries. Missions were sent to Africa, the Near East, the Far East, and Latin America to assist member states in developing their telecommunications.

In order to assist technicians from developing countries to increase their knowledge of telex, automatic switching methods, microwave techniques, and basic radio telecommunications operations, ITU conducted seminars in the Netherlands, Sweden, Hungary, and Switzerland.

An additional 93 fellowships for advanced study were awarded, bringing the total to about 300 fellowship-holders from the developing countries.

## **Universal Postal Union**

In continuing to expand its influence in world postal communications the UPU emphasized ways and means to extend the benefits of postal communications and postal services to the newer developing nations. At the same time the UPU continued to cooperate closely with other members of the U.N. family. A number of studies in the technical postal area demonstrated the usefulness of the UPU to administrators and executives of some 135 postal administrations which grapple with a mounting volume of mail in an increasingly communications-conscious world.

The United States is a member of both UPU's Executive Council and the Management Council of the Consultative Committee on Postal Studies, which met in May and October, respectively. Much work was done at these meetings in preparation for the next meeting of the UPU Congress, scheduled for Tokyo in 1969.

#### **TECHNICAL COOPERATION**

The United States favors multi-lateral postal technical cooperation that is provided through the UNDP. This kind of cooperation has been expanding rapidly. From 1965 to 1967 the number of postal experts assigned to the field increased by 38 percent and the number of fellowships awarded increased by 173 percent. The total cost of the UPU assistance program financed by the UNDP in the 1967–68 biennium was \$749,861 in addition to \$180,000 for overhead costs.

At its October meeting the Management Council of the Consultative Committee on Postal Studies endorsed a resolution calling for an intensive study based on a U.S. paper entitled, "The Importance of Efficient Postal Systems to the Political and Economic Development of Emerging Nations." At the request of the United States, a portion of the study will be an evaluation of present UPU organization

and methods for administering technical cooperation resources provided by the UNDP or by individual nations.

The United States continued to assist both U.N. and UPU Fellows in developing meaningful study programs of postal services. In 1967 a Technical Assistance Corps was established to offer postal expert assistance to both developed and developing national postal administrations.

#### **ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS**

The Executive Council approved a 1968 budget estimate of \$1,455,300, and adopted a U.S. request for a study of the feasibility of using program budgeting techniques to identify priority projects in the allocation of available resources. The United States was successful in urging the Council to make a study of the recommendations of the Committee of 14 with a view to implementing those that are consistent with UPU principles.

The Executive Council approved unanimously, subject to ratification by the 1969 UPU Congress, the U.S. proposal that the scale of assessments for UPU expenses remain unchanged. The United States also supported the execution of a contract for a new International Bureau Headquarters building to be constructed in Bern, Switzerland, at a cost of \$4,333,000 on a site donated by the Swiss Government.

#### **INTERNATIONAL POSTAL COMMUNICATION MATTERS**

The Executive Council agreed to recommend to the Congress new charges and weight steps for international mail, together with a 2-kilogram maximum weight for all categories of letter post. It also approved the substance of a proposal to the Congress on size standards for envelopes and post cards in the international postal service.

In the area of postal market research, a significant new study began on "The Effect of Telecommunications on Postal Communications." Each participating nation will study

the trends and developments in electronic communication techniques and their competitive effect on postal communication and postal services offered by that nation.

The United States contributed a substantial number of films on automated postal techniques to the Management Council's continuing studies on mechanized mail-handling techniques. The United States also initiated, with some 32 postal administrations, an information exchange program that contributed to the general knowledge of trends and developments in all areas of postal communication work.

## **World Meteorological Organization**

#### **WORLD WEATHER WATCH**

The World Weather Watch (WWW) is a cooperative global meteorological observing and predicting system. At the Fifth World Meteorological Congress in April 1967 the WMO adopted the following goals for the WWW by 1971:

- (1) substantial improvement in the global observing system,
- (2) implementation of the global data processing systems,
- (3) improvement of the global telecommunications system,
- (4) acceleration of the program to educate and train meteorologists, and
- (5) planning of a global atmospheric research program.

The Congress also adopted the following principles for implementing the WWW plan:

- (1) all meteorological activity on the territories of individual countries will be the responsibility of the countries themselves and will be met as far as possible from national resources;
- (2) activity on the territory of developing countries will be based on the principle of utilization of national resources but, where necessary, assistance may be provided by the UNDP,

by bilateral or multilateral arrangements, or by contributions of money, equipment, or services from WMO members (Voluntary Assistance Program—VAP); and

(3) implementation of the plan outside the territories of individual countries (i.e., outer space, oceans, Antarctica) will be based on voluntary participation of countries through provision of facilities and services.

A target of \$20 million was set for the VAP program for the 4-year period 1968–71, and by the end of the year several members had already announced specific contributions.

The WMO continued developing plans for implementing the WWW. Of particular importance was an agreement between the WMO and the Committee on Atmospheric Sciences (sponsored by the International Council of Scientific Unions and the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics) on a Global Atmospheric Research Program. This program will help discover some of the yet unknown factors concerning the atmosphere that must be understood before accurate forecasts of up to 2 weeks can be expected. Many prominent U.S. scientists took part in formulating this joint research program.

During 1967 the United States launched three operational satellites: ESSA 4, ESSA 5, and ESSA 6. Of these, ESSA 4 and ESSA 6 carry Automatic Picture Transmission System (APT) cameras, enabling users anywhere to receive pictures on local inexpensive ground equipment. These satellites and three earlier weather satellites (ESSA 2, ESSA 3, and NIMBUS) that continue to perform satisfactorily enable the United States to make available data on weather conditions to all nations of the world. In addition, a weather facsimile transmission employing the new Advanced Technological Satellite (ATS-1), which is located in a stationary orbit over the Pacific, has proved successful for reception at selected American and foreign APT stations.

## RELATED ACTIVITIES

The WMO and ECAFE agreed on a proposal for a typhoon center in South Asia to provide the countries concerned with detailed technical advice on the facilities needed for the prevention of typhoon damage. Dr. F. W. Reichelderfer, retired Chief of the U.S. Weather Bureau, and Dr. G. Dunn, Environmental Science Services Administration, played important roles in the development of the joint proposal.

The WMO Commission for Aeronautical Meteorology held its fourth session in Montreal, Canada, from November 14 to December 15, jointly with the Fifth ICAO Air Navigation Conference (see p. 170), in order to study requirements for aeronautical meteorological services and to decide on the provision of such services. The meteorological needs for long-range flights and for supersonic transport (SST) were given high priority. Preliminary steps were taken for the preparation of climatological upper air charts up to 30 millibars, the collection and publication of solar flare data affecting SST operations, the more efficient use of tropical storm warnings, a refinement in the turbulence reporting procedure, and the maximum utilization of the WWW scheme for aviation purposes. The Chairman of the U.S. delegation, N. A. Lieurance of the Environmental Science Services Administration, was elected President of the Commission for the next 4 years.

The WMO Commission for Agricultural Meteorology met in Manila November 15–29 and developed new procedures and guidance to improve forecasts for agriculture and forest users. The Commission recognized that meteorology has a vital role to play in increasing food production as part of the war against hunger. In this connection, WMO, UNESCO, and UNDP took steps to establish an interagency group to coordinate activities in this critical area. Work on meteorological factors affecting the

epidemiology of wheat rusts, plant injury, and reduction of yield by non-radioactive air pollutants; on meteorological aspects of the storage of cereals and other small seed crops; on practical soil moisture problems in agriculture; and on meteorological observations in animal experiments had progressed to a point that publication of technical notes was authorized.

WMO and the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission worked together to coordinate the common interest of oceanographers and meteorologists in obtaining data from the oceans. Working with ITU, major steps were taken for the designation of appropriate frequencies for transmission of data from meteorological and oceanographic buoys.

WMO issued the first three in a series of project reports on the International Hydrological Decade (1965-74). These reports on special fields in hydrometeorology will provide international scientific organizations as well as national agencies, scientific societies, and universities in the 80 participating countries with specific information on programs relating to the IHD. M. A. Kohler of the U.S. Environmental Science Services Administration, as President of WMO's Commission of Hydrometeorology, placed major importance on the timely issuance of this material and took steps to coordinate WMO's programs with UNESCO's. The result was that WMO is represented on 8 of the 10 working groups established by the UNESCO Council for the IHD and will, in addition, provide the technical secretariat for 6 IHD projects.

#### **TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE**

The WMO serves as executing agency for UNDP projects pertaining to meteorology and hydrometeorology. Nearly 90 countries and territories received technical assistance during 1967 and nine large-scale projects in meteorology and hydrometeorology are now being administered by

the WMO. Two new projects started during the year: (1) development of meteorological services in Colombia, and (2) establishment of an Institute of Meteorology in the Philippines. Other projects were successfully completed in Burma, India, and Thailand during the year.

## **International Atomic Energy Agency**

The IAEA continued to pursue its twin objectives of promoting the peaceful uses of atomic energy throughout the world and ensuring, so far as it is able, that assistance provided by it, or at its request, or under its supervision or control is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose.

#### **SAFEGUARDS**

The IAEA safeguards again increased in 1967 as a result of the entry into force of several previously approved agreements and the approval by the Board of Governors of a number of new agreements. By December 30 the Board had approved a total of 38 safeguards agreements, 19 of which concerned the safeguards under existing U.S. bilateral Agreements for Cooperation. When all 38 agreements are brought into effect, 65 reactor facilities in 29 countries will be under IAEA safeguards. Furthermore, under agreements already approved by the Board, all existing reactor projects in IAEA member states in Latin America, the Far East, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific are or will come under IAEA safeguards.

The first IAEA safeguards inspection of a chemical reprocessing plant—the Nuclear Fuel Services Plant near Buffalo, New York—was carried out by a team of IAEA inspectors who were in residence at the installation on a 24-hour basis during August and September. This inspection provided a valuable opportunity to test the procedures and prac-

tices for safeguarding a reprocessing plant.

In November, a working group of the Board of Governors completed a draft extension of the safeguards system to cover plants for converting and fabricating nuclear material. The Agency is expected to adopt this extension during 1968.

#### **NUCLEAR POWER AND REACTORS**

The number and capacity of nuclear power plants in both industrialized and developing countries continues to grow rapidly. The IAEA program has, therefore, laid greater stress on practical service to member states during the early stages of nuclear power projects (including economic studies, siting, and safety), on problems and economics of fuel supply, and on improvements in the fuel cycle economy of existing systems. The Agency also promotes the exchange of information on advanced converter and breeder reactors and on new experimental means of power generation.

With regard to nuclear fuels, a joint working party of the IAEA and the European Nuclear Energy Authority (ENEA) met in June to update a study on "World Uranium and Thorium Resources" that had been published by ENEA in 1965. IAEA also sponsored a symposium in March on the use of plutonium as a reactor fuel. In addition, the Board of Governors approved the supply of nuclear fuel through the IAEA to Iran, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Spain.

In the field of nuclear desalination of water, the Agency continued its role of chief sponsor and chairman of the IAEA/Mexico/United States feasibility study of a large dual-purpose plant that would be located near the head of the Gulf of California and would supply water and power to arid regions in northeastern Mexico and the southwestern United States.

#### **ISOTOPES AND RADIATION SOURCES**

Late in 1966 an *ad hoc* committee of scientists favorably reviewed the

work of the Joint FAO/IAEA Division of Atomic Energy in Agriculture and recommended continuing its programs and expanding certain activities. Accordingly, IAEA in 1967 continued its work in the fields of soil fertility and irrigation, radiation entomology, pesticide residues and food protection, plant breeding and genetics, animal production and disease control, and food irradiation. The IAEA program on nuclear medicine and radiation biology continued to concentrate on the physical aspects of nuclear medicine. It supported research on diseases such as parasitic infections, deficiency diseases, and tropical anaemias that particularly affect the tropical and subtropical areas. Within the program of the International Hydrological Decade IAEA began a survey to measure the discharge of tritium from the continents to the oceans. Two programs involving ocean sampling of radioactive and stable isotopes began at the IAEA Monaco Laboratory and a number of scientific meetings were sponsored by the Agency on the applications of isotope techniques in hydrology.

#### **HEALTH, SAFETY, AND WASTE MANAGEMENT**

The trend of IAEA activities in this field is toward greater assistance to developing countries in applying the standards and techniques already developed by the Agency and advanced countries. International panels of experts have been extensively used to draft standards and manuals, to advise on programs, and to help organize regional study groups and training courses. The Agency's basic standards for radiation protection were reviewed and a draft code of practice on the safe operation of nuclear power plants was completed. Also in 1967 a general review of the Agency's waste management program indicated that its main objective should be to help developing countries select waste management techniques suitable for their needs.

## RESEARCH AND TRAINING

The bulk of IAEA work in the physical sciences continued to be promoting the exchange of information and scientific contacts and coordinating work on selected topics. The IAEA Nuclear Data Unit is one of four worldwide compilation centers and has moved nearer its objective of ensuring fullest international exchange in computerized form of all available neutron cross-section information.

In February the Board of Governors reviewed the operations of the IAEA-sponsored International Center for Theoretical Physics at Trieste and decided that the Center should continue for another 6 years. During the past academic year, 27 fellowships to the Center were awarded students from 21 countries, 102 students from 28 countries attended advanced courses on nuclear physics, and 78 research workers from 26 countries were appointed to the Center's staff for 1- to 12-month periods.

The Agency's laboratories in Vienna and Seibersdorf, Austria, and its Marine Radioactivity Laboratory at Monaco continued both to carry out original research and to provide services for member states.

In addition to serving as an executing agency for the UNDP, the Agency financed 100 experts and visiting professors who served as advisers and lecturers in member states, 287 fellowships, and 13 training courses which were attended by 177 participants.

Progress has been made in integrated country programing and, in general, coordinated requests for all three components of technical assistance (experts, equipment, and fellowships) are now being submitted together as part of an integrated country program.

## INFORMATION AND TECHNICAL SERVICES

The IAEA continued its feasibility study of an "international nuclear information system" for the coordina-

tion of information-processing under national and regional programs. Experimental work and a study of existing systems will begin during 1968. The Agency also developed a "generalized information processing system" to code bibliographic and other data for information retrieval. The system is being adapted to use magnetic tapes of the material included in "Nuclear Science Abstracts," published by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission.

## ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS

The work of the IAEA is supported by a regular or administrative budget, financed by assessments levied on member states, and by an operational budget, financed from voluntary contributions by member states and from other sources. The operational budget covers all technical assistance activities other than those carried out by the IAEA on behalf of the UNDP.

At its 11th regular session, the IAEA General Conference adopted an administrative budget for 1968 of \$10,477,000, an increase of 10.4 percent over 1967, and a scale of assessments under which the United States would pay 31.86 percent compared to its 1967 rate of 31.87 percent. The General Conference further adopted an operational budget of \$2,430,000 of which \$2,000,000 was the target for voluntary contributions with the remainder to be funded from special contributions and other sources. In respect to the operational budget, the United States announced that it would contribute, subject to the availability of funds, an amount equivalent to 35 percent of all unrestricted cash contributions of member states. The United States also planned to donate contributions-in-kind (fellowships for study in the United States, the services of U.S. experts, small equipment grants) and supplementary support through research contracts, gifts of special nuclear material, library materials, and films.

*Trusteeship and  
Dependent  
Areas*

*Part Three*



# Trusteeship Council

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In 1967 the Trusteeship Council met in both regular and special session. The 34th regular session convened on May 29 and met until June 30. Ambassador Angie Brooks of Liberia and Ambassador Eugenie Anderson of the United States were elected President and Vice President. The Council was comprised of four administering states—Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States—and four nonadministering states—China, France, Liberia, and the U.S.S.R.

The Council examined conditions in the three territories remaining under the international trusteeship system: The Pacific Islands (administered by the United States), New Guinea (administered by Australia) and Nauru (administered by Australia on behalf of itself, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom). As in previous years, the Council considered separate annual reports of the Secretary-General on the U.N. program of scholarships for inhabitants of trust territories and on the dissemination of information on the United Nations in trust territories.

In accordance with the Charter, the Council submitted its report on the strategic Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to the Security Council and

its report on New Guinea and Nauru to the General Assembly. The Security Council, which in 1949 had requested the Trusteeship Council to perform on its behalf the functions specified in the U.N. Charter relating to the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of strategic areas, did not discuss the report on the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The General Assembly, after considering the Trusteeship Council's report, on December 19 adopted separate resolutions on New Guinea and Nauru (see pp. 190 and 193).

As in past years, the President of the Trusteeship Council informed the Chairman of the Committee of 24 (see p. 193) about the work of the Council at its 34th session and expressed willingness to discuss with the Chairman any further assistance the Council might provide the Committee.

At the request of Australia the Council held its 13th special session on November 22 and 23 to recommend to the General Assembly the termination of the Nauru Trusteeship Agreement upon Nauru's accession to independence, January 31, 1968 (see p. 192).

## Future Composition of the Council

The U.N. Charter provides that the Trusteeship Council shall consist of members administering trust territories, permanent members of the Security Council not administering trust territories, and as many other elected members as may be necessary to ensure that Council membership is equally divided between administering and nonadministering members. Thus, the termination of the Nauru Trusteeship Agreement meant that nonadministering members would outnumber administering members, since New Zealand would cease to be a member, and the status of the United Kingdom would change to that of non-administering member. Moreover, there would be no elected member when Liberia's term expired in 1968. In these circumstances the President of the Council observed on November 22 that it would be appropriate to request the Secretary-General to submit a legal study on the future composition of the Council. At the suggestion of the Australian Representative the Council requested that such a study be submitted to members before the next meeting.

On November 23 the Council considered the Secretary-General's response in which he noted that on February 1, 1968, the Council would consist of two administering and five nonadministering members. The Secretary-General suggested that the Council might wish to take into account the following considerations:

(1) the Trusteeship Council under the Charter is a principal organ of the United Nations with specific functions and responsibilities, and the terms of the trusteeship agreements by which the administering authorities undertook to cooperate with the Council do not extend to any other organ to which

the General Assembly might entrust similar functions;

(2) continuance of a permanent majority of nonadministering members on the Council would render inoperative that provision of the Charter designed to prevent the excess of administering over nonadministering members as the conditions it was to meet are unlikely to recur;

(3) this Charter provision ensured the paramountcy of the interests and well-being of inhabitants of the trust territories by providing for outside supervision by nonadministering members, and these interests could not be prejudiced by the present imbalance in favor of nonadministering members;

(4) the Trusteeship Council had functioned on several occasions with a majority of nonadministering members; and

(5) no Charter amendment could restore parity between administering and nonadministering members while retaining all the permanent members of the Security Council on the Trusteeship Council.

In light of these considerations the Secretary-General concluded that on Nauru's obtaining independence the elected member might continue on the Council until the expiration of its 3-year term, and thereafter the Council would be composed of administering members and those permanent members of the Security Council that do not administer territories, until all trusteeship agreements were terminated or, in the case of an amendment to the Charter, until the amendment came into force. The Council decided, without objection, to take note of the Secretary-General's observations. Later, acting on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, the General Assembly on December 19 also took note of that portion of the report of the special session of the Trusteeship Council dealing with the future composition of the Council.

# Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is composed of over 2,100 islands and atolls (96 of which are inhabited), having a combined land area of approximately 706 square miles, scattered over an ocean area of some 3 million square miles. The islands are located in the western Pacific Ocean north of the Equator and are divided into three large groups: the Marianas (with the exception of Guam) in the north, the Carolines in the south and west, and the Marshalls in the east. According to a 1967 census the territory's population was 91,448.

Prior to World War II Japan administered the Islands under a League of Nations mandate. On July 18, 1947, the U.S. Government and the Security Council concluded an agreement making the islands a strategic trust. The only strategic trust territory, it has been administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior since July 1, 1951.

## TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

During the Trusteeship Council consideration of the Pacific Islands, William R. Norwood, High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, served as a Special Representative in addition to Ambassador Anderson. Amata Kabua and Lazarus Sali, members of the territory's legislature, the Congress of Micronesia, served as advisers to the U.S. delegation.

A visiting mission composed of representatives from Liberia, the United Kingdom, France, and Australia had visited the trust territory from February 12 to March 17. In submitting the visiting mission's report, the mission chairman, Ambassador Brooks, stated that Micronesia was on the verge of a new era in its

evolution toward the objectives of the trusteeship system. She believed the general awakening of the people, the installation of a responsible and vigorous administration, and the arrival of many Peace Corps volunteers were bound to move the territory forward. Micronesia, she said, might not be far from the day when its people would be called upon to exercise their right of self-determination.

The U.S. Representative thanked the visiting mission for its probing and sympathetic consideration of the trust territory's problems and its constructive criticism and comments which would greatly help the United States in formulating further plans for the territory. The United States, she said, would increase its efforts to assist Micronesians to attain their rightful level of political, economic, social, and educational development.

The U.S. Representative announced that substantial progress had been made toward a solution of the long-standing question of compensation for loss of life and property damage suffered by the Micronesians in World War II. Prospects for solution of the problem were better than at any previous stage of U.S.-Japanese negotiations, and every effort would be made to reach an early agreement when discussions resumed in the near future.

The Special Representative reviewed in detail recent developments in the trust territory, stating that the thrust of his administration had been toward staff reorganization to strengthen administrative capability, and preparation for program expansion in many fields and new construction as the needed funds were made available. He drew the Council's attention to new legislation passed by the U.S. Congress raising the ceiling on appropriations for the trust territory from \$17.5 million per year to \$25 million for fiscal year 1967 and \$35 million for fiscal years 1968 and 1969.

He noted that the Administration

intended to prepare a comprehensive plan for the entire territory to provide guidelines for the highest and best use of the limited land areas. Referring to the hundreds of Peace Corps volunteers at work in the trust territory, the Special Representative said that the administering authority and the citizens of the territory had gained much from their presence which had strengthened the Administration's programs. While there were some problems to be resolved, he looked forward to a full and compatible partnership that would benefit the people of Micronesia.

He said that one of the major objectives in Micronesia was to identify ways and means of developing the economy of the islands. The Administration agreed with nearly all of the recommendations made by Robert R. Nathan Associates—a leading economic development consulting firm—after its 2-year study of prospects in the trust territory. The study had been undertaken under a U.S. Government contract. However, the High Commissioner expressed reservations on political grounds with two recommendations—allowing noncitizens to own land, and the large-scale importation of foreign labor. Long-term leases and acceleration of training programs and vocational instruction were preferable alternatives, he said.

He concluded by saying that the trusteeship agreement had been in existence for 20 years, and it was recognized that the time was now approaching for the citizens of Micronesia to decide what future political and governmental structure they would prefer.

Mr. Saliu outlined several problems that confront Micronesia despite unrelenting and sustained efforts by the Administration. These included the need for greater progress in land development, agriculture, forestry, and fishery programs; better roads and community services to encourage the development of the tourist industry; improved public health services, espe-

cially in the outer islands; and re-orientation of secondary school education to equip Micronesians to take part in the territory's economic development. He informed the Council that the people of Micronesia did not want to exercise their right of self-determination until they had acquired first-hand knowledge of the benefits and responsibilities of the possible alternatives available to them.

#### PETITION

The Trusteeship Council considered one petition concerning the Pacific Islands, a letter from the magistrate of Likiep Atoll in the Marshall Islands, requesting the Secretary-General to use his influence and urge the United States, as administering authority, to give more attention to shipping services in the Marshall Islands. In its written observations on the petition, the United States declared it was fully aware of inadequacies in the transportation system in the Marshall Islands and was studying methods to improve transportation to the outlying islands of the Marshall Islands District as well as in other districts.

On June 15 the Soviet Representative submitted a draft resolution which would have requested the United States to take immediate steps to correct the situation described by the petitioner. When the Council resumed consideration of the petition on June 20 the United Kingdom submitted an amendment to the Soviet draft whereby the Council would take note of the U.S. declared intention to take steps without delay to improve the shipping services to the outer islands, including the Marshall Islands. On June 21, following informal consultations, a compromise was reached and a Liberian draft resolution was adopted by a vote of 7 to 0, which combined the United Kingdom amendment with a request that the United States take the necessary measures to remedy the situation referred to in the petition.

## TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL REPORT

In its report to the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council welcomed the U.S. statement that prospects for a solution to the war claims problem were better than at any previous stage in the negotiations and expressed the hope that a definite settlement would be reached before the next Council session. The Council noted that a claims office was being established in the trust territory to define and evaluate existing claims against the United States for damages suffered by the Micronesians after U.S. Forces had secured the islands during World War II. The Council hoped that efforts would soon be made to adjudicate or evaluate these claims. Regarding the perennial problem of land ownership disputes, the Council welcomed the establishment of an Office of Land Management and trusted that the United States and the Congress of Micronesia would make every effort to give priority to the questions of land tenure, use, and title.

### Political Advancement

The Council noted that the second session of the Congress of Micronesia had maintained a high legislative output, leading the Council to conclude that the Congress would continue to play an increasingly important role in future progress toward self-government and in the unification of the people. In view of its repeated recommendations, the Council was encouraged to note that the trust territory Administration was considering several measures concerning the Congress of Micronesia, including lengthening the 30-day period of the regular session, placing legislators on a full-time salary, and providing more financial support for the administrative costs of the legislature so that a larger proportion of the funds raised by the legislature might be appropriated for program needs. At the same

time the Council reiterated its hope that the legislature's financial responsibility would be enlarged. The Council was disappointed to learn from the 1967 visiting mission that among Micronesians and even some legislators there was insufficient understanding of the distinctions between central and local legislatures, leading the Council to feel that the political structure of local government could be simplified.

The Council noted the declared U.S. objective to provide all Micronesians adequate opportunity to get the necessary training and to qualify as rapidly as possible to replace non-Micronesian employees. It welcomed the plans to rotate Micronesian assistant district administrators and to assign a Micronesian assistant administrator to the High Commissioner. It observed that although the number of Micronesians appointed to senior positions formerly held by Americans had continued to increase there were still no Micronesians in the public service who had reached the level of Assistant High Commissioner or head of department at headquarters. The Council expressed the belief that in order to strengthen Micronesian ability in the executive field a formal consultative body such as a Micronesian cabinet should be established. In line with its previous suggestion for a unified civil service to give impetus to the "Micronization" of public service, the Council noted with satisfaction that the Congress of Micronesia enacted a law in 1966 to establish a territory-wide merit personnel system administered by a personnel board. The Council was glad that Micronesians had welcomed the Peace Corps, and shared the visiting mission's view that it would be helpful for Peace Corps volunteers in their dealings with Micronesians to explain the purpose and machinery of the trust territory government, as well as U.S. obligations as administering authority under the U.N. Charter and the trusteeship agreement.

The Council, noting the visiting mission's view that the territory's economy was virtually stagnant, welcomed the conclusion of the 2-year Robert R. Nathan Associates study that progress toward economic viability in Micronesia was a realistic and attainable objective. The Council drew the attention of the United States and the Congress of Micronesia to the visiting mission's statement that increased Micronesian productivity should be the main economic objective. The Council was satisfied that the Micronesian taxation system needed reviewing in order to increase local revenue and endorsed the visiting mission's recommendation that the Congress of Micronesia be invited to adopt direct taxation by which everybody, including overseas residents in Micronesia, would make a reasonable contribution to the territory's finances. The Council concurred in the visiting mission's view that agricultural development, particularly in the copra industry, should be accorded high priority. The Council noted that plans were underway to further develop commercial fishery operations and hoped that Micronesians would be provided maximum opportunity for training and participation at all levels. Agreeing with the visiting mission that the buildup of the infrastructure was of first importance, particularly in the transport field, the Council urged that immediate attention be given to the improvement of shipping services, roads, and air transport.

**Social and Educational Advancement**

The Council was encouraged by the visiting mission's report that the level of health in Micronesia was relatively high and did not constitute an obstacle to economic development. The Council hoped that following the recent appointment of a new Director of Public Health a systematic, long-term public health plan, as recommended

by WHO in 1966, could soon be introduced.

The Council commended the progress made in implementing the new educational policy of providing a universal, free public school system from the elementary stage through high school, with advanced professional and trade school training for those who could profit from it. Based on the visiting mission's report, the Council observed that a great task still faced the Administration in implementing its declared objectives of providing sufficient primary and secondary schools with trained teachers to meet the needs of all school-age children and all ninth graders who wished to enter high school. It endorsed the mission's view that urgent attention should be given to vocational and technical education and that the primary and secondary curricula should be better adapted to the Micronesian environment. In this connection, the Council was encouraged by the Special Representative's assurances that a survey, then underway, would produce recommendations aimed at achieving a realistic balance between academic study and vocational training. The Council trusted that the survey would fully evaluate the Council's 1966 recommendation to establish a junior college in Micronesia.

**Timetable for Self-Government or Independence**

The Council noted the U.S. Representative's statement that the time was approaching when the Micronesians would be called upon to decide their own political future, but said it would be premature to make any definite recommendations regarding the territory's future status, since the precise timing of self-determination would depend largely upon the people's wishes expressed through the Congress of Micronesia. The Council also noted the conclusions of the 1967 visiting mission that the main obstacles remaining in the way of self-

determination were Micronesia's excessive economic dependence upon the United States and the lack of popular understanding of the alternatives open to Micronesia. The Council further noted the visiting mission's view that in the not too far distant future the Micronesians would feel ready to decide their own future. The Council welcomed, for example, the Congress of Micronesia's 1966 resolution requesting the President to establish a commission to consult the people of Micronesia as soon as possible in order to ascertain their wishes and views on the future and to report its findings before the end of 1968. The Council requested the United States to acquaint Micronesians with the range of options before them and to seek by all available means to help the people develop an awareness of their capabilities and responsibilities. As in previous years, the Council urged the United States to take all necessary steps to enable it to fix a date when the Micronesians could exercise their right of self-determination.

#### **COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION**

Subcommittee II of the Committee of 24 considered the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands at three meetings between August 10 and September 7. The U.S. Representative observed that the territory had recently been the subject of detailed discussion in the Trusteeship Council, centered on the report of a regular U.N. visiting mission, and there was very little to add.

On September 10 the Subcommittee adopted a report noting that since its last report, "minor advances" had been made in the territory, especially in health and education. However, it believed these could be accelerated. It concluded that the United States still continued to retain considerable legislative and executive powers, thus restricting progress toward self-determination and independence; that progress in allowing indigenous people to take higher administrative

roles was still very slow and the direction of education could be better suited toward this end; and that more ought to be done to lessen the territory's economic dependence on the United States.

In its recommendations the report reaffirmed the applicability of the Colonialism Declaration to the territory; recommended that the Congress of Micronesia be given greater powers for speedy implementation of the Declaration; recommended taking steps to ensure that the people of the territory assume the highest positions in the executive and administrative sectors of the government; requested the United States to examine its educational and economic program for the territory to ensure that plans were tailored to the need for rapid progress toward implementation of the Colonialism Declaration; and reaffirmed the Subcommittee's 1966 recommendation for a Committee of 24 visiting mission to the territory, not only to familiarize member states with the needs and aspirations of the people, but also to increase the people's awareness of their rights.

The U.S. Representative reserved his delegation's position on the adoption of the report, explaining that he would not make specific comments on its conclusions and recommendations since the United States had discussed the points at great length in the Trusteeship Council.

## **Trust Territory of New Guinea**

The Trust Territory of New Guinea comprises the northeastern part of the island of New Guinea, north of the Papuan and east of the West Irian borders, and the arc of islands stretching from the Admiralties to the northern Solomons (Buka and Bougainville). The total land area covers some 92,160 square miles.

In June 1966 the population was estimated to exceed 1,600,000, of which 20,265 were nonindigenous inhabitants, mostly Australians and Chinese.

The Trust Territory, which Australia administers as a union with the neighboring Australian non-self-governing territory of Papua, presents formidable problems of administration. The indigenous population speaks more than 700 different dialects and includes some of the world's most primitive people.

## **TRUSTESHIP COUNCIL CONSIDERATION**

### **Political Advancement**

The Australian Representative described recent political advances in the territory, including the full implementation of the recommendations of the House of Assembly's Select Committee on Constitutional Development. He told the Council that Australia had reviewed the under-secretary system, which provides for indigenous under-secretaries working alongside the regular secretaries in the executive branch. The review had attempted to define more clearly the duties of the under-secretaries so as to include participation in budget and policy formation. Further, steps had been taken to include the under-secretaries in important policy discussions.

Taking note of Australia's full implementation of the Select Committee's recommendations, the Council recognized that an absolute majority of indigenous representatives was virtually assured in the new legislature and that the great majority of the House of Assembly members would continue to be elected by universal adult suffrage on a common roll. The Council also noted the Select Committee's view that a special category of seats was justified to ensure that both indigenous and nonindigenous representatives with wide skills and experience were included in the legislature. The Council expressed the opinion,

however, that the special categories should be regarded as only transitional since the 1964 elections had illustrated that the people would choose their representatives carefully and wisely.

The Council believed that Australia's authority to disallow legislation should be progressively reduced and observed that most Council members thought that the number of indigenous peoples in executive duties should be significantly increased. The Council noted that the Select Committee's June 1967 report would be devoted to the question of the role of indigenous peoples in executive bodies. In the interim, it noted the review of the under-secretary system and expressed the hope that significant steps would be taken toward the introduction of a responsible ministerial system, particularly through raising the status of the under-secretaries and substantially extending their responsibilities and powers.

### **Economic Advancement**

The Council made numerous observations and recommendations on economic advancement. One of the more significant was a commendation for the rapid expansion and diversification of agriculture. The Council also noted continued expansion in secondary industries. In the Council's view, the resulting increase in economic self-reliance would contribute toward ensuring that all political options before the people were kept open. Bearing this in mind, the Council considered it essential that there should be an increasing acceleration in indigenous participation in both primary production and industrial and commercial enterprises. The Council also believed that inadequate private investment indicated a continuing need for heavy public investment and urged the UNDP and the specialized agencies to respond to requests for assistance. The Council welcomed the substantial increase over the previous year—from A\$62 million to A\$70



million—in Australia's direct grant to the territory's budget.

#### **Social and Educational Advancement**

Recognizing that discrimination on the grounds of race or color is outlawed in Papua and New Guinea but that it is difficult to legislate with complete effectiveness on social behavior, the Council welcomed the establishment by the House of Assembly of a committee to review the territory's Discriminatory Practices Ordinance of 1963 and to recommend any necessary amendments. In addition to legal remedies by the courts, the Council suggested that the House of Assembly consider initiating a continuing program to investigate enforcement of antidiscrimination statutes.

The Council noted the Australian reports of increased enrollment at all levels of education and trusted that the rate would be further accelerated and geared to meet the territory's requirements for rapid political and economic development. The Council, therefore, called for the expansion of adult education and for a concentration of effort to produce scientists, agriculturalists, administrators, and technicians trained in the practical application of their knowledge.

#### **Timetable for Self-Government or Independence**

The Council noted the statements made before it by two indigenous representatives from the House of Assembly expressing reservations about immediate independence and reporting the inclination of their people to wait until a sound basis for accession to independence had been created. Mindful of the provisions of the U.N. Charter, the trusteeship agreement, and relevant General Assembly resolutions seeking to ensure that the people are brought to self-determination as swiftly as possible, the Council stressed three points: (1) that all options for the territory's future be

kept open; (2) that a vigorous and extensive campaign make the people aware of the possibilities and implications of decisions regarding their political future; and (3) that Australia reassure the people of its announced intention to continue financial and other assistance, if necessary and welcome, following termination of trusteeship status.

The Council expressed its opinion that, although from some points of view it might be desirable to await an advanced degree of economic and administrative viability before independence, much evidence suggested that to a significant extent the development of these qualities depended upon the acquisition of full political powers. In this regard the Council noted the Australian Representative's statement that the territory need not be economically viable or have reached complete administrative self-sufficiency at the time of self-determination.

#### **Visiting Mission**

On June 29 the Trusteeship Council decided to send a regular visiting mission to New Guinea during 1968. The Governments of France, Liberia, New Zealand, and the United States were invited to submit nominations for membership on the visiting mission.

#### **COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION**

On September 27 the Committee of 24 adopted the report of its Subcommittee II on Papua and the Trust Territory of New Guinea. The report concluded that progress toward implementation of the Colonialism Declaration continued to be slow. It noted, however, that political, social, and educational growth in the territory constituted progress, albeit inadequate, toward implementation of the Declaration. The Committee observed that the economic potential of the territory had not yet been exploited and considered that ex-

ploitation would relieve the dependence of the territory on Australia and enhance movement toward self-determination and independence. Finally, the report noted that discrimination in education, wages, and other fields still existed in spite of Australian efforts to eradicate the problem. In its recommendations the report reaffirmed the applicability of the Colonialism Declaration to the territory; recommended that the House of Assembly be made fully representative with expanded functions; believed that efforts in economic and educational development should continue at a more rapid rate, that local government councils should continue to be strengthened, and existing discrimination in the territory eliminated as quickly as possible. Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States expressed reservations about certain of the report's conclusions and recommendations.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

After considering the reports of the Trusteeship Council and the Committee of 24, the Assembly's Fourth Committee on December 14 approved by a vote of 64 to 8 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions, a draft resolution introduced by the Liberian Representative. The resolution reaffirmed previous Assembly resolutions on Papua and New Guinea and the right of the people of the territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Colonialism Declaration, and called upon Australia to implement without delay the provisions of those resolutions. Previous resolutions had, *inter alia*, called for removal of all discriminatory electoral qualifications; abolition of all economic, social, health, and educational discrimination; the holding of elections based on universal suffrage with the view to transferring power to the people of the territories; and the fixing of an early date for independence. They had also called upon Australia to refrain from

utilizing the territory for military activities incompatible with the U.N. Charter.

Ambassador Hector Garcia, explaining the U.S. vote, told the Committee that his delegation had serious reservations because the draft resolution failed to recognize the substantial achievements Australia had made in economic, social, educational, and political development. The resolution also failed to take into account the report of the 1965 visiting mission to New Guinea, which stated that it had seen few signs of discrimination there, and the report of the Trusteeship Council, which recognized that discrimination on grounds of race or color had been outlawed in New Guinea and that it was difficult to legislate effectively on social behavior.

The General Assembly adopted the draft resolution on December 19 by a vote of 85 to 16 (Australia, U.S.), with 18 abstentions.

## Trust Territory of Nauru

The Trust Territory of Nauru is a small, isolated island in the central Pacific Ocean. Its population in 1967 was 6,048 of whom 2,921 were Nauruans, 1,532 other Pacific islanders, 1,167 Chinese, and 428 Europeans. Australia administered the territory through 1967 on behalf of itself, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom.

Approximately two-thirds of the total land area of 5,263 acres have extensive phosphate deposits upon which the economy of the island depends. A relatively fertile 150- to 300-yard-wide belt of land encircles the island, but the central phosphate-rich plateau is unsuitable for agriculture.

Based upon the proceeds of the phosphate mining, the Nauruan people have achieved a relatively high standard of living and a literacy rate of over 90 percent. Since at the present rate of extraction the phosphate de-

posits will be exhausted in less than 40 years, the long-term future of the area remains uncertain.

#### FIRST TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

Australia reported that in June 1967 discussions had been held in Canberra on the political advancement of Nauru as well as on the future ownership of the phosphate industry. Nauruan representatives had sought agreement for Nauruan independence on January 31, 1968. Although emphasizing that this goal did not represent their final conclusions, the Nauruans proposed, *inter alia*, that Nauru should become a republic, with a government based on the British parliamentary system, but modified to suit local circumstances.

The Australian Representative informed the Council that although the Nauruan proposals would require further examination Australia was sympathetic to the Nauruans' wish to realize their political aspiration by January 31, 1968. At the Canberra Conference Australia had pointed out, however, that, among other arrangements, Nauru might wish to consider association with Australia, whereby Australia would be responsible for such matters as external affairs and defense.

Councillor Hammer De Roburt, a member of the Australian delegation to the Trusteeship Council and the elected Head Chief of the Nauruan people, informed the Council that at the Canberra Conference the Nauruans had expressed the view that the two countries could work out mutually acceptable arrangements for defense and external affairs after Nauru had gained its independence. He stressed that the Nauruan delegation understood that Australia did not object strongly to this view, but would prefer to settle by plebiscite the question of the two countries' post-independence relations. His delegation believed, however, that a plebiscite would only confirm the Nauruan po-

sition, and the delay caused thereby would endanger the achievement of independence in accordance with the Nauruan timetable. No decision had been reached and discussions on the nature of the political changes would be resumed following the Trusteeship Council session.

The Australian Representative reported that during the Canberra Conference agreement had been reached on the transfer of ownership and management of the phosphate industry to the Nauru Local Government Council. In addition, the administering authorities had agreed to purchase the entire output of Nauruan phosphate at a stated rate of production and at a price determined by procedures laid down in the agreement. No agreement had been reached on the rehabilitation of the mined-out phosphate land, however.

The Australian Representative told the Council that a committee of experts appointed to study the feasibility of rehabilitation of the mined land had reported that rehabilitation was possible but impractical. He stated that the administering authorities were not opposed to rehabilitation; on the contrary, they had presented a specific rehabilitation plan to the Nauruans. The administering authorities believed that decisions relating to rehabilitation should be taken by the Nauruans themselves. The responsibility of the administering authorities was, in their view, to see that the financial arrangements would ensure the availability of resources enabling the Nauruans to provide for their future in whatever way their leaders might decide. They believed arrangements and provisions agreed upon at Canberra were ample.

The Nauruan Representative maintained that the administering authorities should accept responsibility for the rehabilitation of the lands already mined, while Nauru should be responsible for rehabilitation of the lands

mined after July 1, 1967, the date the Nauruans assumed ownership of the phosphate industry.

#### REPORT TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY

In its report to the General Assembly the Council reaffirmed the right of the Nauruan people to self-government or independence, recalling its 1966 recommendation that serious consideration be given to the freely expressed wishes of the Nauruan people for independence not later than January 31, 1968. The Council noted with satisfaction the favorable atmosphere in which the Canberra discussions had been held but regretted that lack of time had prevented their completion. The Council was confident that the resumed discussions would take place in the same spirit and expressed earnest hope that agreement would be reached to the satisfaction of both parties. The Council noted with gratification that Australia had expressed sympathy for the Nauruans' wish to realize their political ambition by January 31, 1968.

Recalling its previous observations regarding the possible resettlement of the Nauruans, the Council noted the Head Chief's statement that the Nauruans had abandoned the idea; it also noted Australia's statement that it remained ready to consider any Nauruan proposal concerning future resettlement.

In its comments on the phosphate agreement the Council noted with satisfaction that transitional arrangements provided for a substantial increase in Nauruan royalties and participation in the operation of the industry. With regard to rehabilitation of the mined land the Council noted the conclusion of the committee of experts that, *inter alia*, "while it would be technically feasible (within the narrow definition of that expression) to refill the mined phosphate areas of Nauru with suitable soil and/or other materials from external sources, the very many practical considerations involved rule out such an

undertaking as impractical." At the same time, the Council noted that the Nauruans had strong reservations on the expert report and had stated their belief that Australia should restore the lands already mined. Regretting that differences on the rehabilitation question continued to exist, the Council expressed its earnest hope that a solution satisfactory to both parties would be found.

#### COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION

On September 22 and 27 the Committee of 24 considered the Report on Nauru by its Subcommittee II. The report observed that the Nauruans were steadfast in their desire to become independent on January 31, 1968, but awaited assurance from Australia that the wishes of the people would be respected. It noted the Nauruans' desires to remain on the island and the continuation of differing views between the Nauruans and the Australians regarding both responsibility for and practicality of rehabilitation of the mined phosphate land. Taking into account the transfer of ownership of the phosphate industry to the Nauruan people, the report expressed the hope that the Nauruans would obtain the maximum benefit from their sole and limited asset. Finally, it recommended that Nauru be granted independence on January 31, 1968, and requested Australia to rehabilitate Nauru according to the expressed wish of the people.

The Committee of 24 adopted the report on September 27. The U.S. Representative had previously stated in Subcommittee II on September 7 that in the U.S. view the report did not adequately reflect the complexity of the problem of land rehabilitation. Australia also expressed reservations.

#### TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL SPECIAL SESSION

Following an announcement by the Australian Government on October 24 that Nauru would receive "full and

unqualified" independence on January 31, 1968, the Permanent Representative of Australia on November 10 wrote the Secretary-General requesting a special session of the Trusteeship Council to recommend that the General Assembly approve termination of the trusteeship agreement upon Nauru's accession to independence. The Council met in special session on November 22. Head Chief De Roburt supported the Australian proposal for termination of the trusteeship agreement and told the Council that the only difference remaining between Nauru and the administering authorities was responsibility for rehabilitation of the phosphate land. The Head Chief held, however, that rehabilitation was not relevant to the termination of the trusteeship agreement, and Nauru did not wish to make it a matter for U.N. discussion, although it would continue to seek a just settlement of its claims. The Council unanimously adopted a draft resolution introduced by the Liberian Representative recommending that the General Assembly agree to the termination of the trusteeship agree-

ment upon Nauru's accession to independence.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

Following consideration of the reports of the Trusteeship Council and the Committee of 24, the Fourth Committee on December 7 unanimously approved an Australian draft resolution, as amended with Australia's concurrence by 20 Afro-Asian members. This draft noted Nauru's impending independence; welcomed statements by the administering authorities that they had complied with the request of the representatives of the Nauruan people for full and unqualified independence; resolved, in agreement with the administering authorities, that the trusteeship agreement would end upon accession of Nauru to independence; called upon all states to respect the independence and territorial integrity of independent Nauru; and urged U.N. organs and the specialized agencies to render all possible assistance to the people of Nauru in their endeavor to build a new nation. The General Assembly on December 19 unanimously adopted the resolution.

## Committee of 24

The General Assembly in 1961 established a 17-member Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In 1962 the Committee was enlarged to 24 members.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Members of the Committee in 1967 were Afghanistan, Australia, Bulgaria, Chile, Ethiopia, Finland, India, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Poland, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, the United States, U.S.S.R., Uruguay, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

## Procedural Aspects

During 1967 the Committee of 24 held 89 meetings in two sessions. The first session consisted of 62 meetings between February 9 and June 21, including 32 meetings in Africa. The second session was held from August 22 to December 5 at U.N. Headquarters.

At its first meeting, the Committee elected John W. S. Malecela (Tanzania) Chairman, Kadhim Khalaf (Iraq) and Manuel Perez-Guerero

(Venezuela) Vice-Chairmen, and Mohsen Sadigh Esfandiary (Iran) Rapporteur.

Suborgans of the Committee of 24 included a Working Group, which made recommendations on the Committee's agenda and program; a Subcommittee on Petitions, responsible for examining written petitions and requests for hearings; and three general geographical subcommittees charged primarily with considering the smaller territories in their respective regions. Subcommittee I (Africa and the Indian Ocean) was composed of Finland, Ethiopia, Mali, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia; Subcommittee II (Pacific Ocean) was composed of Afghanistan, Australia, Chile, India, Iraq, Poland, Sierra Leone, and the United States; and Subcommittee III (Caribbean and Atlantic Ocean) was composed of Bulgaria, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

## Military Activities in Non-Self-Governing Territories

On February 20 the Committee decided to undertake a study of the military activities and arrangements of colonial powers that might be impeding the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration in the territories under their administration. The Committee referred the item to Subcommittee I, which asked the Secretariat to request Australia, France, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States to provide information on military activities and arrangements in their dependent territories.

In a letter to the Secretariat dated July 26, the U.S. Representative said that the reporting responsibilities of

member states administering non-self-governing territories were contained in article 73(e) of the Charter, which calls on members to transmit information on economic, social, and educational conditions in their territories, subject to such limitations as security and constitutional considerations may require. The United States had fulfilled that obligation; it had for many years voluntarily submitted political information, having in mind full adherence to other portions of article 73 calling *inter alia* for political advancement of peoples of territories and for development of self-government and free political institutions. Bearing in mind the Charter's specific recognition that security considerations may legitimately limit transmittal of the required information, and the fact that there is no obligation to provide other information, the United States regretted it was unable to comply with the request. In any event, the U.S. Government questioned the view that data on military activities were required for performance of the Committee's duties and rejected any implication that such military activities as existed in U.S. territories were inconsistent with progress toward the achievement of self-determination, a goal to which the United States was fully committed.

Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom also declined to furnish information. France, Portugal, and Spain did not reply.

On September 27 Subcommittee I adopted a report strongly disapproving of the attitude of noncooperation taken by the administering powers and stating that because of their refusal to cooperate and lack of time and information, the Subcommittee would continue consideration of the item during 1968. The full Committee endorsed this report on October 18. Reservations were expressed by the representatives of Australia, Finland, Italy, Iran, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay.

## Circulation of Petitions

On March 1 the Subcommittee on Petitions by a vote of 5 (Chile, India, Malagasy Republic, Poland, and Syria) to 2 (Australia and Tunisia) decided not to circulate as petitions 10 communications on Aden containing allegations against the U.A.R. and one containing allegations against Saudi Arabia. The opponents of circulation argued that the Subcommittee should not circulate petitions derogatory to countries that were not administering authorities.

The full Committee debated the adoption of the Subcommittee's decision on March 7 and 8. The U.S. Representative said that his delegation disagreed strongly with the Subcommittee's decision because the most important guideline should be whether a petition presented information about developments concerning a territory under Committee of 24 consideration. In the U.S. view adopting a double standard whereby petitions could be unfriendly or insulting to administering powers but not to other member states would not only be grossly unjust, but would also deprive the Committee of information of possible importance. The United States did not believe that all obstacles to freedom and self-determination came from any particular group of countries. Covert and overt interference with political, economic, and social progress of dependent areas could come from many directions.

The representatives of Australia, the United Kingdom, Tunisia, Italy, and Finland also made statements supporting circulation of the petitions. Several African, Asian, and Communist countries defended the Subcommittee's decision, arguing that the Committee should not circulate petitions derogatory to countries that are not and never had been colonial powers, particularly if such member states had fought against colonialism in the past or supported the struggle of still dependent peoples. In their

view the Subcommittee's recommendations had been based solely on the spirit and letter of the Colonialism Declaration.

On March 8 the Committee by a vote of 14 to 7 (Australia, Finland, Italy, Tunisia, U.K., U.S., Uruguay), with 2 abstentions (Iran and Venezuela), decided to adopt the report of the Subcommittee on Petitions. An earlier proposal by the United States that the Committee vote first on a U.K. motion to refer the report back to the Subcommittee for further consideration was rejected by a vote of 12 to 7, with 4 abstentions. The United Kingdom reserved its right to circulate the petitions in question as General Assembly documents and later did so.

On October 6, while the Subcommittee on Petitions was considering a group of petitions concerning Gibraltar, it decided, at the suggestion of the Chilean Representative, not to circulate seven communications because they contained language offensive to Spain, a member state other than the administering power. When the Subcommittee's report was considered and adopted by the full Committee on October 23, the U.K. Representative reminded the Committee of the United Kingdom's continued opposition to its refusal to circulate petitions when criticism of a nonadministering state was involved. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, described the practice as both one-sided and dangerous since it diminished U.N. access to vital material. The Australian Representative also expressed reservations.

## Question of the List of Territories

On April 17 the Committee took up a Working Group report referring to the Committee the question of including Puerto Rico and the Comoro

Archipelago in the list of territories to which the Colonialism Declaration applied. This report was strongly opposed by the United States.

The U.S. Representative recalled that for a number of years the United States had submitted information to the United Nations on Puerto Rico as a non-self-governing territory under article 73(e) of the Charter. After the territory became a commonwealth in 1952 the United States had notified the United Nations that it would no longer submit information on the territory. In 1953 the General Assembly had adopted a resolution explicitly recognizing that the people of Puerto Rico had exercised their right of self-determination and had been invested with attributes of political sovereignty and self-government. Finally, the Assembly had also stated that it was appropriate that the transmission of information under article 73(e) should cease. Since the Assembly itself had found that Puerto Rico was no longer a colonial or non-self-governing territory, it was difficult to understand how a subsidiary body established to implement a declaration pertaining to colonial territories could consider Puerto Rico. Inscription of Puerto Rico on the Committee of 24 agenda, the U.S. Representative said, would expose any General Assembly decision to subsequent challenge by a subsidiary body and would violate the basic rules and provisions of the U.N. Charter. The U.S. Representative concluded by formally proposing that Puerto Rico should not be included in the list of territories to which the Colonialism Declaration applied.

Representatives of Bulgaria, Iraq, Poland, Tanzania, and the U.S.S.R. rejected the U.S. position, arguing that Puerto Rico was not independent and therefore was subject to Committee of 24 jurisdiction. On April 19 the Syrian Representative proposed

that the debate on the inclusion of Puerto Rico on the list should be adjourned *sine die*. The Tanzanian Representative supported the Syrian motion, adding that although his delegation was convinced that Puerto Rico was a colonial territory for the purposes of the Colonialism Declaration, further consultations were required prior to a Committee decision.

The United States opposed the Syrian motion, stating that the question had been adequately discussed and delegations had had time to reach a position. If the Committee decided to adjourn the debate *sine die*, the U.S. Representative said, the United States would interpret it as a decision not to consider Puerto Rico. The proposal to adjourn the discussion of Puerto Rico *sine die* was adopted by a vote of 15 to 8 (U.S.), with 1 abstention.

## Visiting Missions

As in 1966 the Committee adopted the recommendations of its subcommittees urging that administering authorities should receive visiting missions in their territories. The U.S. Representative informed Subcommittees II and III on April 6 and 26, respectively, that the United States continued to believe that U.N. visiting missions to its territories were not warranted at present, and that if such missions were proposed the United States would in all likelihood not be in a position to receive them. Australia and the United Kingdom made similar replies. The New Zealand Representative informed the Subcommittee that in view of the small size of the territories under its administration his government felt that a visiting mission would be appropriate only if it were part of a more comprehensive tour of the area.



## African Trip

On March 28 the Committee decided to hold a series of meetings in Africa and the Near East. Australia, Iran, Italy, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, and the United States expressed reservations on this decision.

Ambassador Anderson explained the U.S. view that travel should be undertaken only if necessary and relevant, and then should be restricted to areas offering special and peculiar opportunities to perform essential work. Since past experience had shown that the Committee heard the same petitioners abroad that it heard at U.N. Headquarters, the proposed travel would be repetitious and a waste of funds.

Between May 29 and June 21 the Committee met in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo; Kitwe, Zambia; and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Meetings planned for Baghdad, Iraq, and Damascus, Syria, were cancelled after the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East. The United States was represented by a delegation headed by Ambassador Olcott Deming. The United Kingdom and Uruguay did not participate in the trip.

During its travels the Committee heard petitioners; discussed the situations in French Somaliland, Mauritius, Portuguese African territories, the Seychelles, Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa, and Swaziland; and adopted a number of resolutions on the various territories. In addition it adopted, by a vote of 17 to 2 (Australia, U.S.), with 2 abstentions (Finland, Italy), a general resolution regarding all the territories considered during the trip. Introduced on June 19 and cosponsored by nine African and Asian countries and Yugoslavia, the resolution was quite similar to the one adopted at the Committee's final meeting on its 1966 African trip. Before voting on the resolution as a whole the Committee

voted on several paragraphs individually. A recommendation that the Security Council impose sanctions against Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia was retained by a vote of 16 to 4 (Australia, Finland, Italy, U.S.), with 1 abstention (Venezuela). A request that colonial powers dismantle military bases in colonial territories was retained by a vote of 13 to 3 (Australia, Italy, U.S.), with 5 abstentions (Finland, Malagasy Republic, Iran, Ivory Coast, Venezuela). Finally a request that all states withhold assistance from Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia was retained by a vote of 16 to 3 (Australia, Italy, U.S.), with 2 abstentions (Finland, Venezuela).

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Deming, stated that his delegation was as anxious as any other to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories and to help them advance as rapidly as possible toward self-government and freedom. However, the United States could not support the draft resolution because it encroached on the responsibilities of the Security Council. Further, the United States did not believe that the existence of military installations in dependent territories automatically operated to the detriment of the population of that territory, or prevented or delayed the exercise of their right of self-determination or their political, economic, social, and cultural development.

## Territories Considered in 1967

During 1967 the Committee of 24 considered the following territories:

Aden	Cayman Islands
American Samoa	Cocos (Keeling) Islands
Antigua	Dominica
Bahamas	Equatorial Guinea
Barbados	(Fernando Póo and Río Muni)
Bermuda	Falkland Islands
British Virgin Islands	

Fiji	St. Vincent
French Somaliland	Seychelles
Gibraltar	Solomon Islands
Gilbert and Ellice Islands	Southern Rhodesia
Grenada	South-West Africa
Guam	Spanish Sahara
Ifni	Swaziland
Mauritius	Tokelau Islands
Montserrat	Trust Territory of Nauru
New Hebrides	Trust Territory of New Guinea
Niue	Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Papua	Turks and Caicos Islands
Pitcairn	U.S. Virgin Islands
St. Helena	
St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla	
St. Lucia	

For actions taken by the Committee of 24 on Aden, Papua, Portuguese territories, Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa, and the trust territories see separate sections of this report: Aden (p. 218), Portuguese territories (p. 219), Southern Rhodesia (p. 222), South-West Africa (p. 230), Trust Territory of New Guinea (also covering Papua—p. 189), Trust Territory of Nauru (p. 192), and Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (p. 187).

#### **EQUATORIAL GUINEA (FERNANDO POO AND RIO MUNI)**

The Committee of 24 considered the Spanish-administered territory of Equatorial Guinea briefly during 1967, adopting on September 12 a draft resolution introduced by Mali and cosponsored by 10 African and Asian states and Yugoslavia. The draft resolution largely reiterated the 1966 General Assembly resolution.

It reaffirmed the applicability of the Colonialism Declaration to the territory; regretted that the constitutional conference provided for in the 1966 General Assembly resolution had not been convened and urged that it be convened; requested Spain to implement without further delay the provisions of the 1966 resolution, particularly the calls for removal of all restrictions on political activities and establishment of full democratic freedoms; called for an electoral system based on universal adult suffrage, a general election, and transfer of power

to the government resulting from the election; and requested Spain to ensure that Equatorial Guinea achieve independence not later than July 1968.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 19 to 0, with 3 abstentions (Australia, U.K., U.S.).

#### **General Assembly Action**

On December 15 the Fourth Committee approved a draft resolution on Equatorial Guinea introduced by Tanzania and cosponsored by 21 African and Asian countries and Yugoslavia. In addition to reiterating the provisions of the Committee of 24 resolution, it regretted that Spain had not set an independence date and requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with Spain and the Committee of 24, to ensure a U.N. presence in the territory for the supervision of the envisaged elections and to participate in all other measures leading to independence. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 94 (Spain, U.S.) to 0, with 6 abstentions. On December 19 the General Assembly adopted the resolution by a vote of 111 (Spain, U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions.

#### **FALKLAND ISLANDS**

On December 19, on the recommendation of its Fourth Committee, the General Assembly adopted a consensus on the Falkland Islands. The consensus (1) took note of communications to the Secretary-General from the U.K. and Argentine Permanent Representatives reporting their intention to continue negotiations with a view toward settling the dispute over the Falkland Islands, and (2) urged both parties to continue the negotiations. It also urged them, bearing in mind the General Assembly's 1965 resolution and 1966 consensus on the Falkland Islands, to keep the Committee of 24 informed during 1968 about their negotiations. The Committee of 24 had previously on

October 6 adopted a report making similar recommendations.

## **FIJI**

The Committee of 24 discussed the British Colony of Fiji at five meetings during August and September. As in previous years debate centered on voting methods that would promote communal harmony in Fiji, where the population is 50 percent Indian, 41.5 percent Fijian, and 8.5 percent European and other. At present some representatives on the Legislative Council are elected on the basis of voting by communities while others are elected by the population at large, regardless of community. Both the 20th and 21st General Assemblies had called for a system of representation based solely on the principle of "one man, one vote."

The 21st General Assembly had also endorsed the 1966 decision by the Committee of 24 to send a subcommittee to Fiji to examine the situation at first hand, and on August 28 the Committee's Chairman appointed Bulgaria, Chile, Finland, India, and Tanzania as members of a Subcommittee on Fiji. The United Kingdom subsequently informed the Committee that it had decided not to agree to a visiting mission, taking into account the statement by the leader of the majority party in Fiji that the Government there did not agree that a U.N. visiting mission should come to Fiji.

On September 14 Iraq introduced a draft resolution, jointly sponsored by seven African and Asian states and Yugoslavia, which reaffirmed the right of the people of Fiji to freedom and independence and the Committee's previous call for elections on the basis of "one man, one vote"; deeply regretted the United Kingdom's negative attitude toward a visit by the Fiji Subcommittee; and urgently appealed to the United Kingdom to reconsider.

The Committee adopted the draft resolution on September 15 by a vote

of 17 to 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.) with 3 abstentions (Finland, Italy, Sierra Leone). The United Kingdom reiterated its position that the resolution failed to take account of the progress achieved and that it sought to impose a solution unacceptable to at least one of Fiji's main communities.

## **General Assembly Action**

The Fourth Committee debated the question of Fiji between December 5 and 11. On December 15 Zambia introduced a draft resolution, eventually cosponsored by 28 African and Asian states and Yugoslavia, which contained many of the features of the Committee of 24 resolutions. The draft resolution was adopted on December 16 by a vote of 80 to 6 (Australia, Malawi, New Zealand, Portugal, U.K., U.S.), with 15 abstentions. Three days later the General Assembly adopted the resolution by a vote of 91 to 6 (Australia, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 20 abstentions.

## **FRENCH SOMALILAND**

The Committee of 24 considered French Somaliland on four separate occasions during 1967. The first consisted of four meetings at U.N. Headquarters between March 9 and 15, prior to the March 19 referendum in French Somaliland offering the territory a choice for or against remaining a part of the French Republic. On March 14, Tanzania introduced a draft resolution which reaffirmed the right of the people of French Somaliland to freedom and independence in accordance with the Colonialism Declaration; regretted France's failure to comply with the 21st General Assembly resolution on the territory; urged France to ensure that the forthcoming referendum was just and democratic; and appealed to the people of the territory to continue their united efforts to achieve self-determination and independence. The resolution was adopted on March 15 by a vote of 16 to 1 (Ivory Coast),

with 7 abstentions (Australia, Finland, Italy, Malagasy Republic, Mali, U.K., U.S.).

In April, following the referendum in which the electorate voted to remain a part of France, the Committee heard petitioners who charged irregularities in the referendum and alleged that France had exported large numbers of residents prior to it. The Committee later considered the territory at two meetings in Dar es Salaam in June and at two more at U.N. Headquarters in September, but took no further action.

#### **General Assembly Action**

On December 16 the Fourth Committee adopted by a vote of 71 to 1 (Portugal), with 27 (U.S.) abstentions a draft resolution on French Somaliland introduced the previous day by Tanzania and Sierra Leone. The draft resolution, finally cosponsored by 11 African and Asian states, reaffirmed the people's right to freedom and independence and called upon France to create the political conditions necessary to achieve that right, including the exercise of political freedoms and allowing the return of all refugees. The draft also urged France to cooperate fully with the Committee of 24 and with the United Nations in accelerating the process of decolonization and the early granting of independence.

On December 19 the General Assembly approved the resolution by a vote of 86 to 1 (Portugal), with 29 (U.S.) abstentions. France was not present for the discussion or voting either in Committee or in plenary.

#### **GIBRALTAR**

The 21st General Assembly had adopted a resolution supported by Spain and the United Kingdom regretting the delay in the decolonization of Gibraltar; calling on the United Kingdom and Spain to continue their negotiations, taking into

account the interests of the people of Gibraltar; and requesting the United Kingdom to expedite, without hindrance and in consultation with Spain, the decolonization of Gibraltar. However, in April 1967, the United Kingdom set aside plans to resume negotiations with Spain following Spain's imposition of a restricted air zone in the vicinity of Gibraltar. Subsequently the United Kingdom announced that a referendum would be held on September 10 offering Gibraltar a choice between continuing association with Britain or passing under Spanish sovereignty on terms previously offered by Spain.

The Committee of 24 began its discussion of Gibraltar on August 22 at the request of Spain, which wished to have the matter considered before the September 10 referendum. The Committee met eight times and heard extensive debate between Britain and Spain. On September 1 it adopted by a vote of 16 to 2 (Australia, U.K.), with 6 abstentions (Ethiopia, Finland, India, Malagasy Republic, Sierra Leone, U.S.), a resolution sponsored by Chile, Iraq, Syria, and Uruguay. This resolution regretted the interruption of negotiations; declared that the referendum would contradict the provisions of the 1966 General Assembly resolution on Gibraltar; and invited the two governments to resume negotiations without delay, with a view to ending the colonial situation in Gibraltar and to safeguarding the interests of its population upon the termination of the colonial situation.

The Committee had rejected by a vote of 10 to 3, with 11 abstentions (U.S.), a U.K. resolution that would have had the Committee resume discussion of Gibraltar after the British had reported on the results of the referendum. On October 25 the U.K. Permanent Representative informed the Secretary-General that over 99 percent of the Gibraltarians had voted to retain their links with Britain.

The Fourth Committee discussed Gibraltar at length during December, hearing petitioners from Gibraltar and neighboring areas of Spain. On December 1 Argentina, Colombia, Honduras, and Panama circulated a draft resolution which subsequently attracted 15 more sponsors. The draft recalled the Colonialism Declaration, the Assembly's 1966 resolution on Gibraltar, and the recent Committee of 24 resolution, and considered that any colonial situation that partially or completely destroyed the national unity and territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter and the Colonialism Declaration. In its operative paragraphs the draft regretted the interruption of the negotiations; deplored the referendum as a contravention of the 1966 General Assembly resolution and of the Committee of 24 resolution of September 1; invited Spain and the United Kingdom to resume negotiations without delay with a view to ending the colonial situation in Gibraltar and to safeguarding the population's interests upon termination of that situation; and requested the Secretary-General to assist the Spanish and British Governments in implementing the present resolution and to report thereon to the next General Assembly.

On the same day, the United Kingdom circulated a draft resolution whose preambular paragraphs, *inter alia*, recalled the 1965 and 1966 General Assembly resolutions on Gibraltar and the Committee of 24 consensus of October 16, 1964; expressed concern at Spain's actions against the interests of the people of Gibraltar in contravention of the 1966 General Assembly resolution and particularly those aimed at Gibraltar's economy and the freedom of movement of the people; expressed concern about Spain's action in declaring a prohibited air zone near Gibraltar in such a manner as to prejudice the

holding of the recommended negotiations; and regretted that the negotiations had not yet taken place.

The operative paragraphs called for the termination of restrictions on free access to Gibraltar and of other measures designed to damage the population's interests; noted the U.K. report; noted the result of the Gibraltar referendum, at which the overwhelming majority voted in favor of retaining links with Britain rather than passing under Spanish sovereignty; drew the attention of the parties to the provisions of article 73 of the U.N. Charter, according to which the interests of the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories, including Gibraltar, are paramount, and under which the administering power has accepted as a sacred trust the obligation to develop self-government and to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples and to assist them in the progressive development of their political institutions; urged the avoidance of acts that might impede negotiations in accordance with the General Assembly's 1965 resolution; called upon the two parties to continue their negotiations, taking into account the freely expressed aspirations and interests of the people of the territory, and asked the United Kingdom to report to the Committee of 24 as soon as possible, and in any case before the next General Assembly; and, finally, requested the Secretary-General to assist in the implementation of the present resolution.

On December 12 Norway and Jamaica introduced a compromise draft resolution on behalf of themselves, Ceylon, Denmark, The Gambia, Iceland, Malta, and Singapore. This draft noted previous General Assembly resolutions as well as the recent Committee of 24 resolution; regretted the delay in the conclusion of the consultations between the United Kingdom and Spain, and the consequent delay in the decolonization of Gibraltar; and took into account the stated readiness of the United Kingdom and Spain to resume negotia-

tions in accordance with the 1966 General Assembly resolution. Its operative paragraphs called upon the two parties to continue negotiations; asked the United Kingdom to expedite Gibraltar's decolonization, without any hindrance and in consultation with Spain, and taking into account the interests of the people, and to report to the Committee of 24 as soon as possible and in any case before the next General Assembly. It also requested the Secretary-General to continue to assist in the implementation of the resolution.

On December 13 Yemen offered an amendment to the compromise resolution, which would have added an operative paragraph approving the Committee of 24 report on Gibraltar and the Committee's resolution of September 1.

On the same day Algeria, Gabon, Iraq, the U.A.R., and Uruguay (later joined by Cambodia) submitted an amendment to the Latin American draft which would remove the word "deplores" and substitute "declares" that the holding of the referendum was a contravention of the General Assembly and Committee of 24 resolutions. The sponsors of the Latin American draft accepted this amendment and these six powers also became sponsors of the revised draft resolution.

Following the submission of two other minor amendments to the compromise draft, the Fourth Committee on December 16 voted on a Norwegian proposal to vote first on the compromise draft resolution. This proposal was rejected by a vote of 30 (U.K.) to 62 (Spain), with 24 (U.S.) abstentions. The Committee then adopted the revised Latin American draft by a vote of 70 (Spain) to 21 (U.K.), with 25 (U.S.) abstentions. At the same meeting the U.K. draft and the compromise draft were withdrawn.

The General Assembly in plenary session on December 19 adopted the Fourth Committee draft resolution

by a vote of 73 to 19, with 27 (U.S.) abstentions.

#### **IFNI AND SPANISH SAHARA**

The Committee of 24 considered Ifni and Spanish Sahara at four meetings during September, hearing statements by Spain, Algeria, Mauritania, and Morocco.

On September 14 the Committee adopted a consensus proposed by the chairman that noted Spain's statement that a high-level dialogue on Ifni had begun between Spain and Morocco in line with a 1966 General Assembly resolution and hoped that the dialogue would continue. Regarding Spanish Sahara, the consensus noted with regret that Spain had not implemented the 1966 General Assembly resolution on the territory. Because lack of time prevented the Committee from having a full debate on these territories, it decided that the question of Ifni and Spanish Sahara should be referred to the General Assembly.

#### **General Assembly Action**

On December 15 the General Assembly's Fourth Committee approved by a vote of 97 (Spain, U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions, a draft resolution on Ifni and Spanish Sahara introduced by Mali and cosponsored by 16 African and Asian states and Yugoslavia. The resolution noted that Spain had not yet applied the Colonialism Declaration to the territories; noted Spain's statement that a high-level dialogue had begun between Spain and Morocco concerning Ifni; and noted Spain's statement of December 7, 1966, with regard to a U.N. visiting mission to Spanish Sahara, the return of exiles, and the free exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of the territory.

Its operative paragraphs concerning Ifni endorsed the Committee of 24 consensus and requested Spain to accelerate the decolonization of Ifni

and to determine with Morocco, bearing in mind the aspirations of the indigenous population, the procedures for the transfer of powers in accordance with the provisions of the Colonialism Declaration.

The operative paragraphs on Spanish Sahara invited Spain to determine, in conformity with the indigenous people's aspirations and in consultation with Mauritania and Morocco and any other interested party, the procedures for the holding of a referendum under U.N. auspices, and, to this end, to (1) create a favorable climate for the referendum by permitting, *inter alia*, the return of exiles, (2) ensure that only the indigenous population voted in the referendum, (3) refrain from actions likely to delay decolonization of Spanish Sahara, and (4) provide all the necessary facilities to a U.N. mission so that it might be able to participate actively in the holding of the referendum. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with Spain and the Committee of 24, to appoint and dispatch immediately the special mission called for by the General Assembly in 1966 to determine, *inter alia*, the necessary extent of U.N. participation in the referendum.

The General Assembly adopted the Fourth Committee draft on December 19 by a vote of 113 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions.

#### **SMALL TERRITORIES**

A number of small territories that were considered separately or in groups by the Committee of 24 were subsequently considered in an omnibus resolution by the General Assembly. The following discussions were of particular interest to the United States.

##### **British Caribbean Territories**

On February 20 the Committee of 24 decided to consider urgently the territories of Antigua, Dominica, Gre-

nada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent, since each was scheduled to assume the new status of a state in association with the United Kingdom. To be known collectively as the West Indies Associated States, these territories had negotiated agreements with the United Kingdom to become effective during 1967, the first on February 27.

The Committee first considered these territories at six meetings between February 21 and March 23. The U.K. Representative told the Committee that under the agreements the Associated States would enter into a strictly voluntary association with the United Kingdom. The new arrangements had been worked out in full consultation with the people of the territories and had been freely and willingly accepted by them. Each state would have full control of its internal affairs, the right to amend its own constitution, and the power to end association with Britain and declare itself fully independent. The arrangement was essentially a form of free and democratic choice which was permanently available. The United Kingdom would accept responsibility for defense and external affairs and had made it clear that the states would remain eligible for British budgetary assistance.

The Tanzanian Representative categorically rejected the view that the territories would attain self-government under the association. In his view the dependent status of the territory would remain; only the arrangements had been changed. Other African, Asian, and Communist delegations echoed the Tanzanian view, with several, including Latin Americans, expressing concern about the absence of plebiscites under a U.N. presence.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, said that the new status, devised through amicable consultations between the governments involved, appeared to be a practical solution to the special problems faced by small territories. Equally impor-

tant, the arrangements had been worked out in consultation with the elected representatives of the people of the islands and members of opposition parties had attended the conferences, ensuring that all views would be taken into account.

On March 3 Sierra Leone introduced a draft resolution cosponsored by six African and Asian states and Yugoslavia, and later amended at the suggestion of Iran.

As amended, this draft reaffirmed that the Colonialism Declaration and other relevant General Assembly resolutions continued to apply to the territories and requested Subcommittee III to examine, in the light of recent constitutional developments, the situation in these territories, including the possibility of sending a visiting mission, and to report to the Committee at an early date. The Committee adopted the resolution on March 23, by a vote of 18 to 3 (Australia, U.K., U.S.), with 3 abstentions (Finland, Italy, Uruguay). Before its adoption the Committee voted on a British proposal to refer the question to Subcommittee III for further consideration without voting on the Afro-Asian draft resolution. This proposal was rejected by a vote of 6 (U.K., U.S.) to 16, with 2 abstentions.

During the rest of the year Subcommittee III devoted a substantial portion of its time, 23 meetings, to the West Indies Associated States and other British territories in the Caribbean. In reply to a Subcommittee request for information concerning the situation in Anguilla, which was reported to be in a state of rebellion against the government of the Associated State of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, the United Kingdom on August 11 informed the Subcommittee that in light of the Committee of 24 resolution, which it believed prejudged further examination of the situation in the West Indies Associated States, the U.K. delegation could not assist the Subcommittee in its further studies concerning those

states. Also in August the Subcommittee granted hearings to Jeremiah Gumbs, an Anguillan, and to Roger Fisher, a Harvard University law professor and "Legal Adviser to the Provisional Government of Anguilla."

The full Committee considered and adopted Subcommittee III's report, with a few minor amendments, on October 6. The report expressed the belief that, particularly in the case of small territories, the United Nations should ensure that the people expressed themselves freely on their future status and in full knowledge of the available options. It reiterated the Committee's previous recommendation concerning the need for visiting missions and urged British cooperation in that regard. It recalled the Committee's belief, expressed in 1964, that it should be possible for these territories to join with others in the area to form a viable state. The report also recalled that negotiations aimed at federation between certain of these territories were being carried on in 1964 and regretted that they had not been successful. It expressed the hope that the United Kingdom would do everything possible to promote closer political, economic, and social ties among the territories.

With specific regard to the West Indies Associated States, the Committee, *inter alia*, regretted Britain's attitude in refusing to cooperate with the Subcommittee; noted recent political developments in Anguilla; and reiterated its belief that a U.N. presence during the exercise of the right of self-determination would be essential to ensure that decisions were expressed freely and with full knowledge of available options.

With regard to the British Virgin Islands, which the Subcommittee had considered at five meetings in April and May, the report, *inter alia*, noted the results of the 1966 Constitutional Conference and the 1967 elections, but regretted that despite recent political and constitutional progress the



United Kingdom still had failed to implement the Colonialism Declaration and other relevant General Assembly resolutions. It reiterated the Committee's view that it should be possible for the British Virgin Islands to unite with other territories in the same area to form a viable state.

With regard to Bermuda, the Bahamas, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos Islands, and the Cayman Islands, which the Subcommittee considered at seven meetings between August 30 and September 8, the report, *inter alia*, regretted that the United Kingdom had not yet taken effective measures to implement the Colonialism Declaration in the territories and urged it to do so without delay; noted that financial interests unrelated to the political, economic, and social development of the Bahamas might hinder the implementation of the Declaration there; considered that the United Kingdom should immediately transfer all powers to the people without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, in order to enable them to enjoy complete freedom and independence.

The U.K. Representative expressed strong reservations on the adoption of the report by the full Committee, reiterating the conclusion of his government that the Committee of 24 resolution on the West Indies Associated States had prejudged the situation and that therefore there was no reason to cooperate further with the Subcommittee. After stating that the United Kingdom would abstain in a vote on that section of the report, the U.K. Representative deplored the negative character of the conclusions and recommendations regarding the other British Caribbean territories, which failed to take into account the progress made by the territories' inhabitants in the last few years.

The U.S. Representative expressed general reservations regarding the entire report and specific reservations regarding the portion on the West Indies Associated States. In the U.S.

view the latter, which had achieved associated statehood, were no longer non-self-governing territories within the meaning of article 73 of the U.N. Charter. Self-determination, said the U.S. Representative, implied a free choice among various available alternatives, which were appropriately spelled out in a 1960 General Assembly resolution, and independence was only one such alternative. The United States believed that the people of the West Indies Associated States had chosen their new status freely and that their future was now in their own hands.

#### **Cocos (Keeling) Islands**

On September 27 the Committee of 24 adopted the report of its Subcommittee II on the Australian-administered Cocos Islands. The Committee noted that progress toward implementation of the Colonialism Declaration had been slow and that although the islands have special problems of size and economic viability, these factors should not prevent Australia from complying with the Colonialism Declaration. The Committee recommended that the territory's people be given an opportunity to express themselves on their future political status and that in this connection Australia should seek U.N. assistance. The United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom all expressed reservations on these conclusions and recommendations.

#### **Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Pitcairn, and the Solomon Islands**

On September 22 the Committee of 24 considered and adopted the report of its Subcommittee II on these British-administered islands. The Committee concluded that although the United Kingdom was introducing some constitutional changes, progress toward implementation of the Colonialism Declaration was not sufficient. The Committee stated that the economic base of the territories needed

to be strengthened and expressed awareness of the peculiar problems of these small and isolated islands. In its recommendation, the Committee reiterated its 1964 call for speedy implementation of the Colonialism Declaration.

The United Kingdom reserved its position on the report, noting its grudging and negative tone and regretting that it did not adequately reflect the substantial progress made in the last year. The U.S. and Australian Representatives expressed general reservations.

#### **Guam and American Samoa**

Subcommittee II considered Guam and American Samoa during three meetings in April and one in August. On April 5 the U.S. Representative outlined the main economic, educational, social, and political developments in the territories during the preceding year. He described in detail the proposals for constitutional reform approved by the Samoan Legislature in November 1966 which were then under consideration by the U.S. Secretary of Interior. He told the Committee that Samoa had recovered almost completely from the devastating 1966 hurricane and that more than 600 new homes and a new hospital were near completion. Production in the fishing industry had reached six times the 1961 level.

Turning to Guam, the U.S. Representative described the provisions of the elected-governor bill then under consideration in the U.S. Congress. He also informed the Subcommittee of recent progress toward implementation of the Guam development plan and of plans for new school construction and expansion of Guam's commercial port.

On September 22 the full Committee considered and adopted the Subcommittee report on the two territories. The report concluded that some of the progress noted by the Committee in 1966 had been consolidated, but that progress toward full self-govern-

ment and independence continued to be slow; that despite some changes, the United States still retained considerable executive and legislative power, thus restricting self-government; and that the political institutions and executive machinery were not fully representative.

The report noted the establishment of developmental bodies in the territories, but thought that the development envisaged by those bodies should be further intensified and that Guam's economy should be diversified to relieve its primary dependence on U.S. military activities; noted that U.S. legislation providing for direct election of the Governor of Guam had not yet been adopted; noted that the new draft constitution for American Samoa had taken effect on July 1; and, finally, noted that notwithstanding these developments there was no timetable of effective measures for speedy implementation of the Colonialism Declaration.

In its recommendations, the Committee reaffirmed the territories' inalienable right to self-government and independence and recommended that the United States accelerate the political development of the territories by expanding the people's executive authority and legislative powers. The Committee urged that the economic growth of the territories be further expedited by fully developing agricultural and industrial potential and, particularly in Guam, by implementing as soon as possible plans for the diversification of the economy. In this connection the Committee believed that assistance from the United Nations and its specialized agencies could be utilized effectively. The report requested increased educational and training facilities so as to enable the people to occupy more responsible positions. Finally, it stated that a visit to the territories was necessary since, in addition to familiarizing U.N. members with the people's needs and aspirations, such a visit would also increase the people's

awareness of the rights that had been guaranteed to them by the United Nations.

On August 7, in the Subcommittee, the U.S. Representative objected to the report's conclusions that progress toward self-government continued to be slow and that the political institutions and executive machinery were unrepresentative. Both Guam and American Samoa, he stated, had legislatures with broad authority elected by universal suffrage and the indigent people were widely represented in the executive branches. In the Committee the United States reserved its position on the adoption of the report.

#### **Mauritius, Seychelles, and St. Helena**

Subcommittee I of the Committee of 24 considered Mauritius, Seychelles, and St. Helena at a series of meetings between April 5 and May 10, adopting a report which, *inter alia*, concluded that the United Kingdom continued to violate the territorial integrity of those territories and to defy relevant General Assembly resolutions by creating a new territory, the "British Indian Ocean Territory" (B.I.O.T.), composed of islands detached from Mauritius and Seychelles. The report further concluded that notwithstanding British denials there was still evidence to indicate that the United Kingdom intended to use portions of these territories for military purposes in collaboration with the United States. In its recommendations the Subcommittee stated that the United Kingdom should be called upon again to respect the territorial integrity of Mauritius and Seychelles and to return the detached islands; and that the United Kingdom should refrain from military activities in the territories, especially in the B.I.O.T., as such activity would constitute an act of hostility against the peoples of Africa and Asia and a threat to international peace and security.

The full Committee considered the territories at Dar es Salaam during

the Committee's African trip. On June 15 a petitioner representing the Mauritius Peoples Party told the Committee that the United States and the United Kingdom had established "nuclear" bases in the Mauritius-Seychelles area and were constructing another in Diego Garcia (an island in the B.I.O.T.). Representatives of Bulgaria, Poland, the U.S.S.R., and several African and Asian countries charged that the United Kingdom and the United States either were planning or had already established military bases in the B.I.O.T.

On June 16 Ethiopia introduced a draft resolution, cosponsored by eight other African and Asian states and Yugoslavia. In its operative paragraphs the draft resolution endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the Subcommittee report and, in addition to reiterating many of them, urged the United Kingdom to hold without delay free elections in the territories and to transfer all powers to elected representative organs. It deplored the dismemberment of Mauritius and Seychelles, and declared that military bases and other military activities in the territories violated a 21st General Assembly resolution and constituted a source of tension in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.

On June 19 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Olcott Deming, stated that there had been sweeping and unsubstantiated statements by the petitioner and some representatives regarding alleged Anglo-American bases in dependencies in the area of Mauritius and the Seychelles. The U.S. delegation, he said, wished to state the facts.

First, the United States had no plans to build a military base in the B.I.O.T., and Britain had made a statement to the same effect.

Second, although the United States and the United Kingdom had entered into an agreement on December 30, 1966, to permit utilization of the B.I.O.T. for refueling or communications facilities, no decision had been

taken to establish such facilities. In light of these facts, and because the United States did not believe that the draft resolution represented a realistic and balanced appraisal of the present and future situation in the islands, the U.S. Representative stated the United States would oppose the draft resolution.

The Committee adopted the resolution on June 19 by a vote of 17 to 2 (Australia, U.S.), with 3 abstentions (Finland, Italy, Malagasy Republic).

#### **Swaziland**

The former British High Commission Territories in southern Africa—Swaziland, Basutoland (now independent Lesotho), and Bechuanaland (now independent Botswana)—had for several years been the subject of extensive U.N. consideration aimed at guaranteeing their territorial integrity and sovereignty since they are completely or partly surrounded by, and in varying degrees economically dependent upon, the Republic of South Africa. The remaining non-self-governing territory of Swaziland was considered by the Committee at three meetings in September and October.

On October 23, despite formal reservations by the United Kingdom, the United States, and Australia, as well as expressions of concern and doubt by Finland and Italy, the Committee adopted a "consensus," proposed by the chairman and subsequently amended at Uruguay's suggestion. The "consensus" included a reaffirmation of previous resolutions and recommendations calling upon Britain to grant Swaziland independence without delay. Further, it called upon the United Kingdom to take immediate steps to return to the indigenous inhabitants all land taken from them; to protect Swaziland's territorial integrity and sovereignty from South Africa's interventionist policy, enabling it to enjoy genuine and complete independence; and to bring about the territory's economic inde-

pendence from South Africa. Finally, acting on the Secretary-General's report that the fund to assist the economic development of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, established under a 1965 General Assembly resolution, did not have enough money to operate, the Committee recommended to the General Assembly that the separate fund be discontinued and that contributions be transferred to the UNDP to provide increased assistance to Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland.

The U.K. Representative in setting forth his delegation's reservations expressed surprise that the United Kingdom had not been asked to participate in drafting the "consensus" and pointed out that the "consensus" ignored the fact that the question of Swaziland independence had already been decided. Moreover, no mention was made of Swaziland's recent attainment of full internal self-government and the status of a protected state.

The U.S. Representative said that the United States continued to support the right of the people of Swaziland to express freely their desires and to govern themselves unhampered by outside influences. The draft "consensus" did not take into account all elements of the situation, however, and the United States did not agree with its conclusions.

In approving the report of the Committee of 24 on this territory, through the adoption of the Small Territories resolution on December 19, the General Assembly approved the proposed transfer of funds to the UNDP from the former special fund for Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland subject to the agreement of the donor states.

#### **U.S. Virgin Islands**

Subcommittee III considered the U.S. Virgin Islands between March 29 and April 19. The U.S. Representative described recent economic and social advances on the islands, where the annual per capita income had

risen to \$2,100. With the completion of a large alumina plant, industrial expansion had continued. More schools and classrooms and 200 public housing units had just been completed, and more than 3,000 additional housing units—public and private—were in planning or construction stages. There was a two-party system and the political climate in the Virgin Islands was informed and free; there were six newspapers, a monthly magazine, three radio stations, and two television stations providing coverage of local, national, and international events; universal adult suffrage had been introduced in 1936; literacy requirements could be met in either English or Spanish; and the Virgin Islands Legislature had recently taken further steps to implement fully the recommendations of the islands' 1964 Constitutional Convention. Finally, a new bill providing for an elected governor for the territory was under consideration in the U.S. Congress.

On September 27 the Committee of 24 adopted the Subcommittee's conclusions and recommendations on the U.S. Virgin Islands. The report recalled the 1966 conclusions and recommendations of the Committee of 24 and reaffirmed the applicability of the Colonialism Declaration to the territory. It recognized that the territory's small size and population presented peculiar problems which demanded attention; noted that no significant constitutional progress had taken place since the last Committee consideration; and regretted that, despite political advancement, the United States had failed to implement the Colonialism Declaration and other relevant General Assembly resolutions.

The report reaffirmed the people's inalienable right to self-determination and independence, while emphasizing once again that the United States should enable the people to express their wishes concerning the future status of the territory in full freedom and without any restrictions; invited the United States to encourage free

and public discussion of the various alternatives open to them in their achievement of the objectives of the Colonialism Declaration and to ensure that the territory's people should exercise their right of self-determination in full knowledge of these alternatives; and reiterated its belief that a U.N. presence at the time of the exercise of the right of self-determination would be essential. Finally, it urged that the United States accept a U.N. visiting mission to the territory and extend to it full cooperation and assistance.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, objected to the conclusions and recommendations, which did not accurately reflect the situation in the U.S. Virgin Islands. Statements to the effect that no political progress had been made since the Committee had last considered the territory were unwarranted. Free elections had been held there in November 1966, and more than 80 percent of the electorate had voted. The population had thus had an opportunity to express its views.

#### General Assembly Action

On December 15, following Fourth Committee consideration of the relevant chapters of the Committee of 24 report, the Tanzanian Representative introduced a draft resolution on behalf of nine African and Asian states and Yugoslavia concerning all the small territories not considered separately. In its preambular paragraphs, the resolution, *inter alia*, noted that constitutional changes had taken place in Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, and St. Lucia and were envisaged for St. Vincent; noted the Committee of 24's decision that the Colonialism Declaration still applied to these territories; and expressed awareness of the special circumstances of geographical location and economic conditions of some territories.

In its operative paragraphs the resolution, *inter alia*, approved the

Committee of 24 report on the small territories; reiterated its declaration that any attempt to disrupt partially or totally the national unity and territorial integrity of colonial territories and to establish military bases and installations was incompatible with the purposes of the U.N. Charter and the Colonialism Declaration; urged the administering powers to cooperate with U.N. visiting missions; decided that U.N. assistance should be given to the people of the smaller territories in their efforts to decide freely their future status; and requested the Committee of 24 to pay special attention to small territories. On December 16 the Fourth Committee approved the draft by a vote of 72 to 0, with 26 abstentions (U.S.).

On December 19 the General Assembly took up the Fourth Committee draft. In a separate vote on the paragraph regarding the establishment of military bases, the paragraph was retained by a vote of 78 to 16 (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, Portugal, Sweden, U.K., U.S.), with 16 abstentions (Bolivia, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Dahomey, Finland, France, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldive Islands, Norway, Panama, Turkey).

The draft resolution as a whole was adopted by a vote of 86 to 0, with 27 abstentions (Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Guyana, Iceland, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Maldive Islands, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Trinidad and Tobago, U.K., U.S.).

## Colonialism Resolution

At the 22d General Assembly, as in previous years, the chapter of the Committee of 24 report reviewing the

Committee's work and its recommendations for 1968 were debated in plenary session. The Committee had adopted the chapter on December 5 at its final 1967 meeting.

This chapter stated, *inter alia*, that subject to any further Assembly directives, the Committee intended to review in 1968 all territories not yet independent and, in particular, would examine the extent of compliance by administering authorities with U.N. resolutions and would recommend additional measures that might be appropriate to achieve the objectives of the Colonialism Declaration. It would continue to be guided by the directive in the 1966 Colonialism Resolution that the Committee apprise the Security Council of threats to international peace and security in colonial territories, recommend deadlines for independence, and recommend appropriate steps for the achievement of self-determination and independence. The Committee would continue to examine foreign economic and other interests impeding implementation of the Colonialism Declaration and would complete its study of military activities and arrangements by colonial powers. It also stated that it attached great importance to visiting missions and a U.N. presence in connection with acts of self-determination. It recommended that the General Assembly renew its appeal for speedy implementation of the Colonialism Declaration and urge the acceptance of visiting missions. Finally, the Committee stated that during 1968 it might consider the question of holding a series of meetings away from headquarters.

### U.S. POSITION

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Hector Garcia, explained the inability of the United States to support adoption of the report and made several general observations on the Committee's work.

During the year, he said, the Committee had heard reports of continuing

progress in a number of dependent areas, but stubborn problems remained in southern Africa, where little or no progress could be cited despite repeated U.N. efforts and scores of resolutions and reports. These problems were among the most challenging and significant facing the United Nations and involved concepts basic to the U.N. Charter. The United States believed the United Nations could not fail to come to grips with these problems with all the energy and resources at its command, but was firmly convinced that these complex and stubborn problems would not be resolved by superficial and simplistic treatment. The Committee, however, increasingly tended to assume conclusions and then assemble so-called facts to support these conclusions. Too often reports and resolutions were stereotyped, using phrases and words from other contexts and applying them to colonial problems. Specifically, he cited the assumption that all foreign private enterprise in non-self-governing territories was pernicious and that administering powers were linked together in a malevolent alliance to frustrate all popular strivings for self-determination. In addition, some members of the Committee relied on out-voting and condemning the administering authorities instead of trying to work constructively with them. A large measure of suspicion pervaded the Committee's work, resulting in a serious breakdown in communication within the Committee. Thus, positive measures were sometimes ignored, or brushed aside as half-way measures, while extreme proposals which had no possibility of implementation were put forward.

#### ASSEMBLY ACTION

On December 12 the General Assembly began its review of the work of the Committee of 24. On December 15 a long draft resolution eventually sponsored by 36 African and Asian countries and Yugoslavia was introduced.

In its operative paragraphs the draft resolution reaffirmed the Colonialism Declaration; noted with satisfaction the work of the Committee of 24 and expressed appreciation for the Committee's efforts to secure implementation of the Declaration; approved the Committee of 24 report and urged the administering powers to implement its recommendations, the Colonialism Declaration, and other relevant U.N. resolutions; and requested the Committee to continue in 1968. The Committee's suggested program for 1968, including the sending of visiting missions, the study of military activities, and the review of the list of territories to which the Declaration applies was approved.

The draft resolution reiterated the view that the continuation of colonial rule threatened international peace and security and that the practice of apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination constituted a crime against humanity; reaffirmed the legitimacy of the colonial people's struggle for self-determination and independence; noted with satisfaction the progress by national liberation movements in colonial territories; and urged all states to provide them moral and material assistance. It expressed appreciation to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the specialized agencies, and other international relief organizations for their assistance and requested them to increase it.

The draft resolution requested all states, directly and through the international institutions of which they are members, to withhold assistance of any kind from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa and from the Southern Rhodesian regime until they renounce their policy of colonial domination and racial discrimination; and drew attention to the grave consequences for international peace and security of activities of the southern African *entente* of Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia. It requested the colonial powers to dismantle military bases and installa-

tions in colonial territories and to refrain from establishing new ones and from using existing ones to interfere with the people's liberation.

The draft resolution condemned the policies of certain administering powers of imposing nonrepresentative regimes and constitutions; strengthening the position of foreign economic and other interests; misleading world opinion; encouraging the systematic influx of foreign immigrants while displacing, deporting, and transferring the indigenous inhabitants to other areas; and it called for the cessation of such activities.

It requested the Committee of 24 to make suggestions to assist the Security Council in its discussion of appropriate measures with regard to situations in colonial territories likely to threaten international peace and security and recommended that the Council fully consider such suggestions.

The draft resolution also requested the Committee of 24 to participate, as it considered appropriate, in the International Conference on Human Rights to be held at Tehran in April 1968. The Committee was invited to pay particular attention to small territories and to recommend to the General Assembly the most appropriate measures to enable their people to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. Administering powers were urged to permit visiting missions to the colonial territories.

Finally the Committee of 24 was requested to consider and submit recommendations to the next General Assembly regarding the holding in 1969 of a special conference of representatives of colonial peoples for the purpose of considering the most effective means by which the international community could intensify its assistance to them in their efforts to achieve self-determination, freedom, and independence.

On December 16 the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 86 to 6 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions.

Before voting on the resolution as a whole, a number of paragraphs were voted on separately. A preambular paragraph deploring the negative attitude of certain colonial powers and, in particular, "the intransigence" of Portugal and South Africa was retained by a vote of 90 to 2, with 13 (U.S.) abstentions. The paragraph approving the Committee of 24 report was adopted by a vote of 79 to 2, with 27 (U.S.) abstentions. After the inclusion of the proposed study of military activities was upheld by a vote of 75 to 8 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions, the paragraph as a whole approving the program of work for the next year was approved by a vote of 90 to 3, with 15 (U.S.) abstentions. The paragraphs relating to the withholding of assistance from Portugal, South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia and noting the activities of the *entente* were retained by a vote of 80 to 8 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. The requests to colonial powers to dismantle military bases in dependent territories was approved by a vote of 72 to 22 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions. Finally, the request that the Committee of 24 make suggestions to the Security Council was retained by a vote of 84 to 2, with 24 (U.S.) abstentions.

## Activities of Specialized Agencies

On October 6 the 22d General Assembly agreed to a Bulgarian proposal to inscribe on its agenda an item entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations." The item was allocated to the Fourth Committee for consideration and report.

The Fourth Committee considered the question at 11 meetings between November 23 and December 11. As



background material the Committee used two notes prepared by the Secretariat for the Committee of 24 concerning actions taken by the specialized agencies and international institutions in response to earlier General Assembly resolutions on this subject. In addition, the Committee considered a report by the Secretary-General on consultations he held during 1967 with the IBRD.

A General Assembly resolution of December 16, 1966, had requested the Secretary-General to consult with the IBRD to obtain compliance with resolutions calling for the withholding of financial, economic, and technical assistance from the Governments of Portugal and South Africa. The results of a series of meetings and an exchange of correspondence between officers of the U.N. Secretariat and the IBRD were transmitted to the General Assembly in the Secretary-General's report of September 15.

The report contained the text of a memorandum of March 6 to the General Counsel of the IBRD, in which the U.N. Legal Counsel called attention to relevant resolutions and reviewed previous contacts, dating back to 1962, on the question of IBRD loans to Portugal and South Africa. The U.N. Legal Counsel concluded that as a member of the "U.N. family of institutions," the IBRD was legally and morally bound to comply with resolutions requesting that it withhold assistance to South Africa. The IBRD General Counsel replied on May 5 that he perceived no legal obligation on the IBRD to respond affirmatively to the General Assembly resolutions; he cited the 1945 Articles of Agreement of the IBRD and the 1947 Relationship Agreement between the United Nations and the IBRD as establishing the IBRD's independence in such matters.

In a letter of August 18 the President of the IBRD informed the Secretary-General that the Executive Directors of the IBRD had, with some dissents, endorsed the position taken

by the IBRD General Counsel. The President of the IBRD said that additional legal argumentation would be unlikely to change the conflict of views between the United Nations and the IBRD. He wished to reassure the Secretary-General, however, that the IBRD would cooperate with the United Nations by all legitimate means and, to the extent consistent with its Articles of Agreement, avoid any action counter to the purposes of the United Nations.

On December 8 the representatives of Bulgaria, Ghana, and Yemen introduced a draft resolution, sponsored finally by 36 additional Afro-Asian nations and Yugoslavia. Among other things, the resolution recognized that the specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations should cooperate fully in achieving the objectives of the Colonialism Declaration and recommended that they take urgent and effective measures to assist colonial peoples struggling for liberation. These measures included, in particular, extending all necessary aid to the oppressed peoples of Southern Rhodesia and Portugal's African territories through programs worked out in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity and the respective national liberation movements. The draft resolution also recommended that specialized agencies and international institutions grant no assistance to South Africa or Portugal until those countries renounce their policies of racial discrimination and colonial domination. It requested all states, directly and through their membership in international organizations, to facilitate implementation of the resolution.

On December 11, following statements made by representatives of FAO, ILO, UNESCO, WHO, and IBRD, the Fourth Committee adopted the draft resolution by a vote of 83 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 17 abstentions (Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland,

France, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, U.K., U.S.). The paragraph recommending urgent and effective assistance by the specialized agencies to colonial peoples struggling for liberation was adopted by a separate vote of 68 to 7 (Australia, Brazil, Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 23 abstentions. The paragraph recommending the withholding of assistance from Portugal and South Africa was adopted by a separate vote of 68 to 7 (Australia, Brazil, Malawi, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 25 abstentions. In explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Hector P. Garcia, said that although the United States shared some of the resolution's general objectives, it had serious reservations regarding several of its provisions, particularly those that called upon the specialized agencies to take actions that were inconsistent not only with many of the agreements between the United Nations and the specialized agencies, but also with the basic instruments governing the activities of several of the agencies.

On December 14 the General Assembly approved the resolution without change by a vote of 81 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 18 abstentions (Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, U.K., U.S.).

## Activities of Foreign Economic and Other Interests

Prior to the 21st General Assembly, U.N. bodies had dealt with questions concerning foreign economic interests in dependent areas only within the context of their deliberations on Southern Rhodesia, South-West

Africa, and the Portuguese territories and only in connection with the adverse effect these interests were alleged to have on the implementation of the Colonialism Declaration. The 21st General Assembly, however, adopted a resolution, over strong U.S. objections, in which it condemned foreign economic and other interests in all colonial territories and inscribed on the provisional agenda for its 22d session a broader topic entitled: "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa, and Territories under Portuguese domination and in all other Territories under colonial domination." The 22d General Assembly on September 23 subsequently expanded this agenda item to encompass the activities of foreign economic interests as they affect "efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid, and racial discrimination in southern Africa."

### COMMITTEE OF 24 CONSIDERATION

The basis for consideration of this item at the 22d General Assembly was a report submitted by the Committee of 24 on the operations of foreign economic and other interests in all colonial territories, particularly Southern Rhodesia, South-West Africa, and the Portuguese African territories. The report, prepared by Subcommittee I of the Committee of 24 at six meetings during the summer of 1967, was approved by the full Committee on October 18. The United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom opposed the report; Finland and Italy abstained.

The Committee of 24 report asserted that foreign economic and other interests, motivated by a desire for profits and encouraged by the colonial powers, controlled the economies of all colonial territories to the detriment of their inhabitants. It concluded that these interests and the

colonial powers found mutual benefit in suppressing colonial peoples and exploiting the natural and human resources of colonial territories through cheap labor, special concessions and privileges, discriminatory legislation, and the denial of legitimate trade union activities. In all colonial territories, according to the report, foreign interests were depriving the inhabitants of natural resources needed for viable independence and their future well-being. In southern Africa foreign support for the illegal Rhodesian regime, for apartheid in South Africa, and for Portugal's African policies was contributing to the threat to international peace and security existing in the area.

The report recommended, *inter alia*, that the General Assembly reaffirm the inalienable right of colonial peoples to benefit from their natural resources; strongly condemn the policies of the colonial powers that deprive colonial peoples of this right; and condemn colonial governments for actively promoting foreign economic activities that exploit natural and human resources without regard to the welfare of the colonial peoples. It urged the General Assembly to condemn strongly the activities and methods of foreign interests that impede the progress of colonial peoples to freedom and independence, and it recommended that the General Assembly appeal to the governments of the United Kingdom, the United States, Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and other powers to put an end to the activities of their nationals that were detrimental to the interests of the inhabitants of colonial territories. The report also called for the General Assembly to appeal again to all U.N. specialized agencies, particularly the IBRD and IMF to withhold from South Africa, Portugal, and the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia any further financial, economic, or technical assistance so long as they continued to observe their poli-

cies of apartheid, colonialism, and racial discrimination.

On October 6 the U.S. Representative expressed the U.S. "shock and dismay at the tendentious and doctrinaire terminology of this report as well as at its substance." He questioned the sweeping generalizations on the economic activities of foreign companies in all dependent territories when the Subcommittee had studied only eight in a relatively short period and in a relatively cursory manner. He noted that the report ignored political, economic, and social differences among territories in different parts of the world, clearly implying such differences did not exist. The report made no attempt to examine fully the policies guiding the activities of the companies concerned, to examine the policies of the administering authorities with regard to economic activities in dependent areas, or to distinguish between the conditions actually prevailing in the various territories supposedly under consideration. The United States was forced to conclude that the conclusions and recommendations contained in the report were based on preconceived and unsubstantiated notions and concepts that would not be warranted by a careful and full examination of the facts.

#### GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

In opening the Fourth Committee's debate on November 14, the Tanzanian Representative stated that had it not been for the investments by certain foreign financial and economic interests in South-West Africa, the Portuguese territories, and Southern Rhodesia, it might have been much easier for these territories to attain independence, and the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia would not have continued to exist. He asserted that all Africans under colonial domination were of the view that the colonial powers were being aided by certain Western countries because of their

need for profits. He rejected charges that the Committee of 24, in approving its report on this subject, had been influenced by ideological considerations.

The Soviet Representative subscribed to these views, pointing out that they applied to the activities of foreign economic interests not only in southern Africa but also in the Middle East, Asia, and Oceania. In these areas, he said, the major imperialist powers, particularly the United States, paid lip service to the principle of self-determination while doing all in their power to preserve colonialism and plunder colonial peoples.

On November 17 James Forman, representing the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), appeared before the Fourth Committee as a petitioner. He said that persons of African descent living in the United States were able to understand the emotional and psychological ordeal of colonial peoples, an ordeal similar in some respects to the historical experiences of non-whites in the United States. American economic and financial involvement in southern Africa, he contended, was intertwined with racial discrimination, colonialism, and apartheid, and this was consciously encouraged by the policies of the U.S. Government. He saw evidence of racial bias in the fact that the interests in question were based in countries that, with the exception of Japan, shared a common white Western heritage.

Following Mr. Forman's appearance, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Hector P. Garcia, stated that the U.S. Government, which had agreed to Mr. Forman's appearance before the Committee in accordance with its traditional liberal attitude toward hearing individuals who may have information to contribute on the item under discussion, wished to make clear that the SNCC spokesman had appeared as a private individual. His appearance, in other words, was not to be construed in any sense as

conferring on SNCC the status of an official "nongovernmental organization," accepted and accredited by ECOSOC as an international organization.

On November 29, 45 African and Asian states, 14 Latin American and Caribbean states, and Yugoslavia, tabled a draft resolution that, *inter alia*, approved "in general" the Committee of 24's report on the activities of foreign economic interests in colonial territories; reaffirmed the right of the peoples of those territories to their natural resources; and strongly condemned the exploitation of such territories and their peoples by foreign interests through methods designed to perpetuate colonial regimes.

The draft resolution also deplored the policies of colonial powers which permitted exploitation of territories under their administration contrary to the interests of the inhabitants; called upon all states to ensure that concessions granted, investments authorized, and enterprises permitted to their nationals in colonial territories did not run counter to the present or future interests of the inhabitants; and called upon colonial powers to review all privileges and concessions that were against the interests of the colonial populations.

The Fourth Committee approved the draft resolution on December 1 by a vote of 86 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 17 abstentions (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Cuba, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Italy, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, U.K., U.S.). The paragraph which approved "in general" the Committee of 24's report on the activities of economic interests was adopted by a separate vote of 84 to 5 (Australia, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 16 abstentions (Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden). In explanation of

vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Garcia, said that the United States could not support any resolution endorsing a report that baldly asserted, on the basis of fragmentary documentation and brief discussion, that foreign economic activity everywhere impedes self-determination or acts to the detriment of local populations. He suggested that an amelioration of economic conditions in certain non-self-governing territories could have been better advanced by a full, expert, and constructive examination of all pertinent data, but this had not been attempted. He expressed reservations with regard to the vague-

ness of other provisions of the resolution, particularly those passages calling upon member states to assume and fulfill obligations that under the provisions of the U.N. Charter belonged properly to the administering authorities.

The General Assembly on December 16 adopted the draft resolution without change by a vote of 91 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 17 (U.S.) abstentions. In a separate vote, the operative paragraph endorsing the Committee of 24's report was approved by a vote of 87 to 5 (Australia, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 16 abstentions.

## Aden

The British colony and protectorates of Aden became independent on November 30, 1967, as the People's Republic of Southern Yemen (see p. 69). This concluded a year of activity involving the United Kingdom, the Arab states, the South Arabian nationalist groups, and a three-man U.N. Special Mission on Aden.

### U.N. Special Mission

The Special Mission (Manuel Pérez Guerrero of Venezuela, Abdul Satar Shalizi of Afghanistan, and Moussa Léo Keita of Mali) was established by the 21st General Assembly and instructed, *inter alia*, to consider recommending practical steps for the establishment of a caretaker government for the territory. It visited London, Cairo, Jidda, and—very briefly—Aden in the spring of 1967, and later returned to Europe and to Cairo for talks with some political groups from the territory. These did not include, however, the group that formed the

government that took power at the time of independence, the National Liberation Front of Occupied South Yemen (NLF).

In a report dated November 10 the Special Mission said that it had been unable to hear all shades of opinion in the territory (1) because conditions in the territory "were not conducive to performing this task," for which it blamed the United Kingdom, and (2) because representatives of all political elements—in particular the NLF—had not met with the Mission. The Mission reported that it had made clear to the United Kingdom its belief that negotiations aimed at the formation of a caretaker government should include both the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY) and the NLF. It noted that on November 1 there had been an announcement from Cairo of an agreement between FLOSY and the NLF, but on November 6 the army, which the Mission maintained was still under British control, had declared that it had recognized only one nationalist organization, the NLF. As a result, ac-

ording to the Mission, the optimism about the reported agreement between FLOSY and the NLF "was shattered." The Mission recommended that the United Kingdom be asked to deal directly with the nationalist elements.

## Committee of 24 Consideration

The Committee of 24 discussed the Special Mission's report briefly on November 21.

The U.K. Representative recalled that the High Commissioner in Aden had recognized the nationalist forces "as representatives of the people" in early September and had announced his readiness to negotiate with them. Nothing was heard until the November 1 announcement from Cairo. Meanwhile, the NLF had established its ascendancy in the up-country portions of the territory. It had extended its control to most of Aden proper in early November and on November 5 had instructed the NLF group in Cairo to suspend the talks with FLOSY. Independence was scheduled for November 30 and NLF-U.K. talks were on the point of opening in Geneva.

The Committee of 24 transmitted the Special Mission's report to the General Assembly without comment.

## General Assembly Consideration

The Fourth Committee took up the question of Aden on November 28. On November 29, with independence only hours away, the Committee adopted a "consensus" which, after wishing peace and prosperity to the territory on its accession to independence, reaffirmed "the unity and territorial integrity of the whole territory," including all the islands as pre-

scribed in the December 1966 General Assembly resolution on Aden. It also declared any action to disrupt this unity and territorial integrity a violation of the December 1966 General Assembly resolution on Aden and of the 1960 Colonialism Resolution. The United States, France, Italy, Israel, and Australia reserved their positions on this "consensus" because they were not consulted in advance or given time to study the text.

The significance of the wording of the Fourth Committee "consensus" became clear when the U.K. Representative announced in plenary on November 30 that the Kuria Muria Islands, which had been named in the 1966 General Assembly resolution as constituting part of the "Territory of Aden," had been returned to the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The U.K. Representative explained that the islands had been ceded to the British Crown by the Sultan of Muscat in 1854 and had been a separate colony even though recently administered from Aden. Located off the coast of Muscat, their natural links were with Muscat, and the 78 people on the islands had made it clear when consulted by the United Kingdom that they wished to be returned to Muscat and Oman. He explained that the United Kingdom had not informed the United Nations of its decision earlier because it wished to inform the NLF delegation at the Geneva talks first.

The U.S. Representative joined with those who had welcomed the new state to independence and read a statement issued by the Department of State earlier in the day welcoming the people of the territory into the family of nations and wishing them "all prosperity, stability, and orderly development." The U.S. Representative noted, however, that the United Kingdom had just pointed out that the "consensus" before the Assembly dealt with matters that had been under negotiation by the parties, both of whom were now sovereign states. He also recalled the U.S. ob-

jections the previous day to the procedure used in dealing with the question of Aden in the Fourth Committee. For these reasons, he explained, the United States continued to be unable to associate itself with the "consensus."

Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and Mali specifically criticized the United Kingdom for returning the Kuria Muria Islands to the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. The "consensus" was then declared adopted by the Assembly.

# Portuguese Territories

## Committee of 24 Consideration

During its trip to Africa the Committee of 24 discussed the African territories under Portuguese administration (Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea) in meetings at Kinshasa, Kitwe, and Dar es Salaam. The Committee heard 14 petitioners, including representatives of several nationalist movements. As in previous years, many of the petitioners told the Committee that Portugal was forcibly denying self-determination to the peoples of its African territories and alleged that members of NATO, particularly the United States, were supplying Portugal with arms which were being used against the peoples of the territories.

In the debates which took place in conjunction with the petitioners' remarks, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Olcott Deming, repeatedly stressed that the United States believed the territories should be considered as non-self-governing within the meaning of article 73 of the Charter, and that the people should be given the opportunity to exercise fully and freely the right of self-determination. He said that the United States, in conformity with Security Council resolutions, neither supplied, nor permitted to be exported, weapons or military equipment for use in the

Portuguese African territories, nor did NATO as an organization supply weapons or armaments to Portugal to be used there.

With reference to allegations bearing on economic policy, the U.S. Representative noted that complaints about the alleged evil influences of private investment in that part of the world often came from individuals who, because of their basic conviction, regarded all private investment and private economic activity as exploitation. Ambassador Deming said that that viewpoint was not one which a U.N. body could afford to adopt if it wished to maintain its representative nature. In that connection he pointed out that 30 independent African countries had signed investment guarantee agreements with the U.S. Government; they would hardly have done so if they had feared exploitation by the United States. He affirmed that U.S. private foreign investment did not seek out colonial areas for political purposes: it sought economic opportunity.

On June 20, at Dar es Salaam, the Committee adopted by a vote of 17 to 2 (Australia, U.S.), with 2 abstentions (Finland, Italy), a draft resolution on the Portuguese territories, sponsored by the 12 African and Asian members and Yugoslavia.

In its principal preambular paragraphs, the resolution expressed deep concern at what it termed "the critical and explosive situation which is

threatening international peace and security owing to the methods of oppression which continue to be used against the African people of the territories under Portuguese domination"; noted that activities of foreign economic and financial interests in the territories continued to "impede" the realization of the legitimate aspirations of the African peoples; and noted that Portugal continued to receive aid and weapons from its military allies which it used against the populations of the territories.

The operative paragraphs of the resolution reaffirmed the inalienable right of the peoples of the territories to freedom and independence; condemned Portugal's obstinate refusal to implement resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council, and the Committee of 24; condemned the activities of financial interests operating in the territories which impeded the progress of the people toward freedom and independence; condemned, as a crime against humanity, the Portuguese policy of settling foreign immigrants in the territories and exporting African workers to South Africa; urged Portugal to apply without delay the principle of self-determination to the peoples of the territories; requested all states, particularly NATO members, to desist from giving Portugal any assistance and to prevent any sale to Portugal of weapons, military equipment, or machinery to manufacture weapons; recommended that the Security Council make mandatory the provisions of U.N. resolutions concerning Portuguese territories; appealed to all states to assist those struggling for their inalienable rights; appealed to the IBRD and the IMF to refrain from granting Portugal any financial, economic, or technical assistance until that government abided by the Colonialism Declaration; expressed appreciation for the help U.N. agencies had so far given refugees from the Portuguese territories and requested the agencies

to cooperate with the Organization of African Unity and national liberation movements in increasing assistance to the refugees; and requested the Secretary-General to promote the publicizing of U.N. work on this question.

Before the resolution as a whole was adopted several paragraphs were voted on individually. The paragraph condemning Portugal's policy as a crime against humanity was upheld by a vote of 16 to 3 (Australia, Italy, U.S.), with 2 abstentions (Finland, Venezuela). The paragraph dealing with weapon supplies to Portugal was upheld by a vote of 16 to 2 (Italy, U.S.), with 3 abstentions (Australia, Finland, Venezuela). The paragraph recommending that the Security Council endorse mandatory sanctions against Portugal was upheld by a vote of 16 to 4 (Australia, Finland, Italy, U.S.), with 1 abstention (Venezuela). The paragraph dealing with the IBRD and the IMF was upheld by a vote of 16 to 3 (Australia, Italy, U.S.), with 2 abstentions (Finland, Venezuela).

In explanation of vote the U.S. Representative said that although the United States adhered to the draft's basic aim of self-determination for the people of the territories, it could not support the resolution since the United States felt that the Portuguese Government must take the responsibility for its policies in Africa. The heavy emphasis that this resolution placed on foreign factors was unwarranted, particularly in the light of the firm and effective U.S. prohibition on the export of arms for use in the Portuguese territories. The U.S. reservations applied in particular to the paragraphs on the furnishing of arms and military equipment and the supposed activities and influence of foreign economic and financial interests. Finally, the United States objected to provisions in the resolution which encroached on responsibilities of the Security Council or were inconsistent with the statutory responsibilities of the IBRD.



# General Assembly Consideration

Consideration of the Portuguese territories at the 22d General Assembly began in the Fourth Committee on October 30 and lasted 12 sessions. During the course of its general debate, the Committee heard several petitioners representing independence movements in Portuguese Africa. The petitioners urged the United Nations to impose a complete economic embargo against Portugal, to prevent further military assistance to the Portuguese Government, to provide increasing assistance to the African people in the territories, and to expand existing educational and training programs for the people of the territories.

The Portuguese Representative spoke on November 9 in refutation of many of the points made in the debate. He defended Portugal's relations of "good neighborliness" with southern African nations and insisted that Portugal did not foster or condone a racially segregated society in any of its African territories. Portugal, he declared, was able to provide for the requirements of its security forces without assistance from other nations.

On November 8 the representatives of Tanzania, Tunisia, and Syria introduced a draft resolution, eventually sponsored by 55 African and Asian states and Yugoslavia. It closely paralleled the resolution adopted by the Committee of 24 in June. The two major additions were a paragraph condemning "the colonial war being waged by the Government of Portugal against the peaceful peoples of the territories under its domination, which constitutes a crime against humanity and a grave threat to international peace and security," and another condemning the policies of Portugal for using the territories under its domination to violate the integrity and sovereignty of inde-

pendent African states, particularly the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

On November 10, the Fourth Committee approved the draft resolution by a vote of 80 to 8 (Australia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, U.K., U.S.), with 15 abstentions (Argentina, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Sweden, Turkey).

## U.S. POSITION

Prior to the vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Hector Garcia, noted his delegation's deep regret that the Portuguese Government refused to apply the principles of the Charter in its territories, that it allowed its territories to become involved in mercenary attacks upon the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and that the Fourth Committee had not yet found an effective means of persuading Portugal to change its attitude.

He reiterated the U.S. assurance that the military equipment it supplied to Portugal is not used to support that country's activities in Africa and rejected categorically all accusations of U.S. complicity in Portuguese policies in Africa. He noted, in this connection, that U.S.-manufactured arms and ammunition of World War II vintage were available for purchase in many parts of the world, and he stressed that the United States had no way of controlling such transactions in other countries. Finally, he reiterated the strong U.S. reservations with respect to the resolution's heavy reliance on factors other than Portugal's policy, particularly the emphasis on the activities of foreign economic and financial interests, and to its encroachment on the prerogatives of the Security Council.

## ASSEMBLY ACTION

On November 17, by a vote of 82 to 7 (Australia, Netherlands, Portu-

gal, South Africa, Spain, U.K., U.S.), with 21 abstentions (Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexico, New Zealand Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Sweden, Turkey), the General Assembly adopted without change the resolution recommended by the Fourth Committee. Prior to adoption, the paragraph call-

ing upon U.N. agencies to cooperate with the Organization of African Unity and national liberation movements in assisting refugees from the territories was voted on separately and upheld by a vote of 95 to 3 (Portugal, South Africa, Spain), with 11 abstentions (Albania, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Malawi, Netherlands, New Zealand, U.K., U.S.).

## Southern Rhodesia

During 1967 there were few new developments in the United Nations on the Rhodesian question. The Secretary-General and member states followed the progress of the selective mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the illegal Rhodesian regime on December 16, 1966. The Secretary-General issued periodic reports on this subject in the course of the year and the Committee of 24 and the General Assembly also discussed the Rhodesian problem.

### Committee of 24 Consideration

In the course of the Committee's meetings in Africa (not attended by Uruguay or the United Kingdom), Southern Rhodesia was discussed at Kinshasa, Kitwe, and Dar es Salaam, and a number of petitioners were heard. On June 6 at Kitwe the Committee adopted a consensus appealing to the United Kingdom to ensure the release of all political prisoners in Southern Rhodesia and urging it to prevent the passage of apartheid-type legislation then being proposed in the territory.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Olcott C. Deming, expressed reservations regarding the consensus, noting that the United Kingdom did not presently control Southern Rho-

desia and thus, as a practical matter, its ability to act according to the appeal was limited. The representatives of Australia, Italy, and Finland expressed similar reservations.

On June 9 at Kitwe, the Committee of 24 adopted a resolution that described the continuation of colonial rule and the practice of apartheid and all forms of discrimination in Southern Rhodesia as a crime against humanity. The resolution recommended, *inter alia*, that the Security Council impose further sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and take other enforcement measures under chapter VII of the Charter. The Committee also called upon the United Kingdom to take immediately all necessary measures, including the use of force, to put an end to the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia. The resolution stipulated that further consultations to determine the future of the territory should be carried out with representatives of the African political parties and not with the illegal regime. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 17 to 1 (Australia), with 3 abstentions (Finland, Italy, U.S.).

In explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative expressed American support for continuing the determined U.N. efforts to bring about a solution of the Rhodesian problem by peaceful means, thus ensuring to all

the people of the territory the exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination. The United States did not believe, however, that all peaceful means of resolving the situation in Southern Rhodesia had been exhausted and it was therefore unable to support the resolution.

## General Assembly Consideration

On October 4, during the opening debate on Southern Rhodesia in the Fourth Committee, the U.K. Representative declared that the common aim of all member states was to bring the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia to an end and to ensure that the territory was set firmly and irrevocably on the road to majority rule. His government could not accept the view that mandatory sanctions had failed; more time was needed for the effect to be fully visible. In the U.K. view, the most important immediate task was to strengthen the sanctions program. The limited evidence received so far showed a significant decline in trade with Southern Rhodesia in most of the commodities listed in the Security Council resolution; however, the introduction to the Secretary-General's annual report made it clear that there had been continuing traffic in certain important commodities. The British Government, he concluded, did not support force as a means of solving the Rhodesian problem, since it could result in measureless misery, especially to those whom it was meant to benefit.

On October 17 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Eugenie Anderson, said that the United States was resolved to persevere in helping to seek a peaceful solution based on political justice and equal opportunity for all Rhodesians, regardless of race. The United States, therefore, fully supported the efforts of the United Kingdom and the United Nations to put an end to the rebellion and to provide a

peaceful transition to majority rule. Responding to allegations that U.S. compliance with the sanctions program was inadequate, she cited statistical information indicating a decline in U.S.-Rhodesian trade and stated that U.S. regulations issued in implementation of the Security Council's call for selective mandatory sanctions were strictly enforced and applied to all U.S. citizens, residents, and corporations organized under U.S. laws, including subsidiaries of U.S. companies incorporated in Southern Rhodesia. The United States would continue to refrain from supporting the use of force as a solution to the Rhodesian question. In this connection, referring to the recent use of South African police in Southern Rhodesia, she expressed the U.S. Government's strong disapproval of those who had not merely defied the United Nations by refusing to comply with sanctions, but had taken upon themselves the right to intervene by force in Southern Rhodesia.

Representatives of approximately 50 African, Asian, and East European nations and Cuba argued that sanctions had already failed. In their view more effective measures, including the use of force, were necessary. The Soviet Representative contended that the responsibility for the situation in Southern Rhodesia lay not only with the United Kingdom, but also with the United States and other countries that supported British policy and, while professing support for U.N. sanctions, maintained economic and other relations with the Rhodesian regime. In particular, the Soviet Representative and a number of other representatives decried the activities in and around Southern Rhodesia of Western foreign "monopolies." Almost all delegations sharply criticized the presence of South African security forces in Southern Rhodesia and many called upon the United Kingdom to ensure their immediate withdrawal.

On October 27 a draft resolution sponsored by 48 African and Asian

countries and Yugoslavia was introduced in the Fourth Committee. The resolution, *inter alia*, condemned the failure and refusal of the United Kingdom to take effective measures to bring down the illegal racist minority regime; expressed the conviction that sanctions, to be effective, must be comprehensive, mandatory, and backed by force; called upon the United Kingdom to enter into consultations with the representatives of Rhodesian political parties favoring majority rule; condemned the continued support given the regime by South Africa and Portugal; called for the immediate expulsion of South African armed forces from Southern Rhodesia; invited the United Kingdom to secure the release of African nationalists imprisoned in Southern Rhodesia; and urged all states to render moral and material aid to the national liberation movements of Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia).

The resolution was adopted by the Fourth Committee on October 27 by a vote of 90 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 18 abstentions (Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Malawi, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, U.K., U.S.).

In explanation of vote, the U.S. Representative said that the United States, although continuing to support the aims of self-determination for all the people of Southern Rhodesia, could not agree with many passages of the resolution, particularly those that stressed the use of force.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution in plenary without change on November 3 by a vote of 92 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 18 abstentions (U.K., U.S.).

## Secretary-General's Report

In carrying out his responsibilities under the Security Council resolution

requesting him to submit periodic reports to the Council on the progress of selective mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, the Secretary-General on December 17, 1966, transmitted the text of the resolution to all states members of the United Nations or the specialized agencies. He requested governments to inform him of measures taken to comply with the resolution and reminded them that refusal or failure to implement its mandatory provisions would constitute a violation of article 25 of the U.N. Charter. The Secretary-General renewed this request on two occasions early in 1967. He also asked member states to supply him with detailed statistical information on their foreign trade in the commodities affected by the resolution in order to enable him to prepare his report to the Security Council on the progress of the sanctions program.

On January 13 a note from the U.S. Representative called the Secretary-General's attention to Executive Order No. 11322, signed by the President of the United States on January 5, which implemented the provisions of the December 16 Security Council resolution. The Executive order, based in part on section 5 of the U.N. Participation Act of 1945 (59 Stat. 620), as amended (22 USC 287(c)), prohibited imports into the United States of Rhodesian asbestos, iron ore, chrome, pig iron, sugar, tobacco, copper, meat and meat products, hides, skins, and leather, and prohibited activities by persons subject to U.S. jurisdiction that promoted or were calculated to promote the export of such commodities from Southern Rhodesia after December 16, 1966. The order also prohibited any activities by persons subject to U.S. jurisdiction that promoted or were calculated to promote the supply to Southern Rhodesia of arms, aircraft, motor vehicles, petroleum, and petroleum products. The Secretary-General was informed that the United States also would continue to apply those meas-

ures that it had taken in accordance with earlier Security Council resolutions on Southern Rhodesia.

Since the beginning of 1967 the United States has provided the Secretary-General with monthly statistical reports on its trade in the commodities proscribed by the Security Council resolution.

In February, March, and July the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council on the progress of the sanctions program. The reports dealt primarily with replies received from a total of 115 countries, the great majority of which declared their intention of fully implementing the selective mandatory sanctions imposed by the Security Council against Southern Rhodesia. Some countries indicated their desire to cooperate with the Security Council's decision to the maximum extent that limitations imposed by a variety of special economic and/or political circumstances would permit.

Zambia, for example, informed the Secretary-General early in 1967 that it faced serious difficulties in the fields of transportation, communications, and fuel supply and storage as a result of its compliance with mandatory sanctions. A group of technical consultants, appointed by the Administrator of the UNDP with the Secretary-General's concurrence, visited Zambia in February to study these problems.

Malawi and Botswana reported that, by reason of their geographic locations, the total application of mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia would pose special economic problems for them and they sought to consult with the Security Council as authorized by article 50 of the U.N. Charter. Lesotho, citing its geographic location and economic dependence on South Africa, expressed an inability to take positive steps of its own to implement the Security Council resolution. Both Switzerland and Austria expressed their intention to cooperate with the

resolution in degrees consistent with their status as permanent neutrals.

The Portuguese Government did not report any action taken to comply with the resolution, stating that it could not indicate its intentions until the Security Council had resolved certain legal and procedural questions it had raised about this and earlier Council decisions on the Rhodesian problem. Portugal also requested consultations with the Security Council under article 50 of the Charter, claiming that Mozambique had suffered economic damage as a result of measures provided for in these decisions. The Secretary-General received no reply from the Republic of South Africa.

On November 30 the Secretary-General issued his first report analyzing the statistical data received from 37 nations for the first half of 1967. He noted in the report that the implementation of the Security Council resolution necessarily took different forms in different countries, that many shipments to and from Southern Rhodesia were already en route in December 1966, and that Rhodesian goods placed in bond in some countries prior to the imposition of mandatory sanctions appeared in the statistics long after their actual arrival in those countries. His evaluation showed that while the reporting countries' trade with Southern Rhodesia had declined significantly during the reporting period, their trade in embargoed commodities with South Africa and Mozambique in many instances had increased.

With regard to the United States, the Secretary-General's report showed that in 1967 the United States had continued to import substantial quantities of Rhodesian chrome ore, asbestos, and tobacco which had been exported from Southern Rhodesia prior to December 16, 1966, the effective date of the Security Council resolution. The report noted that, faced with the virtual disappearance of Rhodesian tobacco from the world

market, the former consumers of the Rhodesian crop had met their requirements in the first half of 1967 by increasing their purchases of American tobacco by more than 50 percent compared with the first 6 months of 1966.

The Secretary-General was obliged to state, however, that in the absence of statistical reports from Zambia, Malawi, South Africa, and Mozambique, whose trade with Southern Rhodesia had traditionally made up a

large proportion of that territory's imports and exports, a large segment of total Rhodesian trade could not be evaluated. He expressed the hope that as fuller data on the trade on these countries with Southern Rhodesia were obtained and as more recent information on 1967 world trade with Southern Rhodesia in embargoed commodities became available, more meaningful evaluations could be made.

## South-West Africa

The South-West Africa question was one of the most prominent issues before the United Nations in 1967. The issue was considered at the fifth special session of the General Assembly, at the 22d regular session, by a 14-member *Ad Hoc* Committee established to make recommendations on the implementation of the Assembly's 1966 resolution terminating South Africa's mandate for South-West Africa, by the Committee of 24, and by the U.N. Council for South-West Africa. Added attention was focused on South-West Africa in 1967 because of the trial of 37 South-West Africans by the South African Government for alleged terrorist activities.

U.A.R. suggested that the Committee's work be subdivided as follows:

- (1) creation of U.N. machinery for the administration of South-West Africa,

- (2) study of the financial and personnel requirements of the administration,

- (3) procedures for implanting the U.N. administration in the territory, and

- (4) fixing a target date for independence.

As the organization of work would have a bearing on the Committee's recommendations, this proposal became the subject of considerable discussion. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador William P. Rogers, on January 26 called for a flexible and nondogmatic approach to the organization of work. He enunciated three general principles to guide the work of the Committee:

- (1) No course of action should automatically be foreclosed.

- (2) The desire for speed should be reconciled with the necessity for accuracy, wisdom, and balance.

- (3) The overriding consideration of the Committee should be to contribute to the welfare of the people of the territory.

Taking into account the limited time and information available to it, the

## Ad Hoc Committee Consideration

The first meeting of the *Ad Hoc* Committee, of which the United States was a member, was held on January 17. The Finnish Representative, Ambassador Max Jakobsen, was elected Chairman. The meeting was addressed by the U.N. Secretary-General, whose remarks underscored the importance of the task entrusted to the Committee.

At the second meeting on January 26 Nigeria, Ethiopia, Senegal, and the

Committee should direct its efforts not at devising a specific administrative formula for the territory but at creating a series of alternative administrative systems and some technique for determining which of the alternatives was most appropriate to the territory. Any recommendations, he said, should be realistic and within the U.N. capacity to achieve.

After statements by other members the Committee decided to accept the African suggestion on the organization of work, it being understood, however, that the Committee could consider all means by which the United Nations could discharge its responsibility for South-West Africa.

With the beginning of substantive discussions on February 10, fundamental differences appeared on what constituted practical means to discharge that responsibility. Three separate proposals were submitted by (1) Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal, and the U.A.R.; (2) Canada, Italy, and the United States; and (3) Chile and Mexico.

#### **AFRICAN PROPOSAL**

The four-power African proposal, to which Pakistan later adhered, called for an immediate transfer of authority from South Africa to the United Nations, and in the event of South African obstruction, for enforcement action by the Security Council under chapter VII of the Charter. It called for the establishment by the General Assembly of a Council for South-West Africa, composed of member states elected by the General Assembly, which would assume all responsibility for the administration of the territory until independence. The Council would immediately establish a physical presence in the territory. In addition, the proposal called for the appointment by the General Assembly of a U.N. Commissioner for South-West Africa to carry out executive and administrative tasks entrusted to him

by the Council. The independence of South-West Africa would be declared not later than June 1968.

#### **WESTERN PROPOSAL**

The three-power Western proposal, while also asserting the U.N. responsibility for South-West Africa, emphasized the exploratory and preparatory aspects of the transfer of authority. The most important element of the proposal was the appointment, on nomination by the Secretary-General, of a Special Representative for South-West Africa. Among other things, the Special Representative would make a comprehensive survey of the situation in the territory with particular reference to its human and material resources; establish contacts and consult with all representative elements in the territory in order to create a nucleus for self-government; and recommend to the 22d General Assembly further measures to implement the 1966 resolution terminating South Africa's mandate. The proposal also called for the establishment of a Council for South-West Africa, composed of three or more member states designated by the President of the General Assembly, with which the Special Representative would cooperate and to which he would report.

#### **LATIN AMERICAN PROPOSAL**

The Latin American proposal resembled the four-power African proposal in calling for an expeditious transfer of authority from South Africa to the United Nations, but it made no provision for enforcement action. It called for the establishment of a Council for South-West Africa, composed of member states elected by the General Assembly, which would, among other things, enter into contact with the Republic of South Africa to lay down procedures for a transfer of authority. Once in control, the Council would begin direct administration of the

## Special General Assembly Consideration

The fifth special session of the General Assembly convened on April 21. The question of South-West Africa was considered in plenary.

On April 26 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, expressed the hope that the unity, which made possible the nearly unanimous vote for the resolution terminating South Africa's mandate, would again be displayed in the search for practical means to implement the resolution. In outlining the U.S. position, he said:

*First*, . . . in all realism it would be too much to hope that this problem, which has been developing for nearly half a century and with which the United Nations itself has wrestled for 20 years, could be resolved in the few months since the General Assembly first took decisive action with respect to it.

*Second*, although the General Assembly has adopted a far-reaching policy, we have not yet—either individually or collectively—entered into any dialogue with South Africa in our effort to implement that policy. Although we have declared South Africa's rights under the mandate in the territory to be terminated, it is still a fact . . . that South Africa "has possession of the Territory."

*Third*, the world is already suffering from too many confrontations. It would be a strange irony if the United Nations—whose highest aim is to resolve disputes and achieve justice by peaceful means, and to harmonize the actions of nations—should itself fail to pursue such means and, instead, add still another confrontation to a list already too long. . . .

*Fourth*, when we urge that progress be made with all reasonable speed, we do not thereby suggest or in any way condone indefinite delay. What we do suggest is that the next step we must take is one which employs the arts of diplomacy—the "peaceful means" enjoined upon us by the Charter. . . .

*Fifth*, we do not agree with the view expressed in this debate which would simply have the United Nations arbitrarily declare the Territory of South-West Africa to be independent here and

territory and, through consultation with the people's representatives, develop institutions of self-government. A U.N. Commissioner for South-West Africa would be appointed by the General Assembly to carry out executive and administrative tasks in the period preceding independence. Upon the establishment of a politically responsible government in South-West Africa, the territory would be declared independent.

At the 14th meeting on March 20, the U.S. Representative observed that both the African and Latin American proposals called for direct U.N. administration of South-West Africa without benefit of the type of discussion that the United States believed to be necessary in order to lead to peaceful and effective implementation. He also noted that the African proposal envisaged recourse to enforcement action which many U.N. member states would not support. What was required was an exchange of views among all parties before and during the development of plans for the future of South-West Africa. Although there was no reason for optimism, the U.S. Representative said that the Committee could not afford to assume South African noncooperation.

### COMMITTEE REPORT

After extensive discussion, the Committee decided on March 29 to submit a report to the special session of the General Assembly containing all three proposals without stating a preference. The Committee also forwarded its view that the South African proposal to establish an autonomous Ovambo tribal homeland was part of a plan to institutionalize the practice of apartheid in the territory and was contrary to the General Assembly's call upon South Africa to take no action that would alter the present international status of South-West Africa. In the view of the Committee, the South African proposal was illegal.



now, with no regard for the means by which that pretended independence is to be achieved for the welfare of the people involved. . . .

The Saudi Arabian Representative submitted a draft resolution on April 26 that would have asked one or more member states to act on behalf of the United Nations as co-administrators of the territory with South Africa. The co-administrators would act only until the Council for South-West Africa was prepared to take over the territory. This draft resolution was not brought to a vote, however.

After intensive debate on the three proposals contained in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's report, the special session recessed on May 5 to permit private consultations on the reconciliation of the African and Latin American positions, since the Western proposal had not found any significant support.

When the Assembly resumed on May 18, the Nigerian Representative, on behalf of 79 cosponsors, introduced a compromise draft resolution. This draft was approved on May 19 by a vote of 85 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 30 abstentions, including the United States, France, the United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., and most of the countries of Eastern and Western Europe.

The resolution called for the establishment of an 11-member Council for South-West Africa to administer the territory until independence. The Council would base itself in South-West Africa and enter immediately into contact with the Republic of South Africa to lay down procedures for a transfer of authority. A U.N. Commissioner for South-West Africa was to be appointed by the General Assembly, on nomination of the Secretary-General, to perform executive and administrative tasks entrusted to him by the Council for South-West Africa. The resolution requested the Security Council to take all appropriate measures to enable the Coun-

cil for South-West Africa to discharge its functions. The Council for South-West Africa was to do all in its power to enable South-West Africa to attain independence by June 1968. Finally, the Council for South-West Africa was to report back to the General Assembly at intervals of 3 months and submit a special report to the 22d session on the implementation of the resolution.

The United States abstained because it believed that the draft resolution was impractical and beyond the capacity of the United Nations to achieve. Speaking on May 19 the U.S. Representative restated U.S. policy with respect to South-West Africa:

Lest there be any misunderstanding—and because the issue is still a long way from being resolved—I wish to restate at this time as succinctly as possible my country's position concerning South-West Africa.

1. We continue our full support of Resolution 2145. This historic resolution stands as the virtually unanimous decision of the United Nations on this issue.

2. We shall continue to support the United Nations in its search for practical means by which its responsibilities with respect to South-West Africa, pursuant to Resolution 2145, can be discharged.

3. We believe further progress in this matter will inevitably require a good-faith effort to advance the purposes of Resolution 2145 through a dialogue with the Government of South Africa, which still remains in physical control of the territory.

On June 13 the General Assembly elected Chile, Colombia, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Turkey, U.A.R., Yugoslavia, and Zambia to the Council for South-West Africa.

At the same meeting, the General Assembly, on the proposal of the Secretary-General, appointed Constantin A. Stavropoulos, Legal Counsel of the United Nations, as Acting Commissioner for South-West Africa. The appointment was to be an interim arrangement while fuller consultations were undertaken; a permanent

appointment was to be made at the 22d session of the General Assembly later in the year.

## Committee of 24 Consideration

The Committee of 24 considered the question of South-West Africa at six meetings held in Africa between June 7 and 19 and three meetings held at U.N. Headquarters between September 8 and 12. While in Africa, the Committee heard a number of petitioners and adopted a resolution on the South African proposal to establish an autonomous Ovambo tribal homeland in South-West Africa. The draft resolution was introduced on June 16 by the Iranian Representative on behalf of 12 African and Asian states and Yugoslavia. It noted the Committee's deep concern about measures that were considered to be an extension of apartheid and racial discrimination into the territory, reaffirmed the territorial integrity of South-West Africa, and condemned the South African proposal as illegal and contrary to the Assembly's resolution terminating South Africa's mandate. The resolution was approved unanimously on June 19.

In reference to the proposed tribal homelands, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Deming, said that the United States viewed the situation with concern and regret. Noting that the proposal had not yet been implemented, he said he hoped the Committee of 24 resolution would cause South Africa to pause and consider the propriety of such measures.

## Proceedings of Council for South-West Africa

The Council for South-West Africa met for the first time on August 10

to hear a welcoming address by the U.N. Secretary-General and to organize its work. It was decided that the presidency of the Council would rotate among the members in alphabetical order, each member presiding for one month, beginning with the Representative of Chile.

In accordance with the injunction to enter into contact with the South African authorities, the Council on August 28 approved the text of a letter to the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs that invited South Africa to indicate the measures it proposed to take in accordance with relevant General Assembly resolutions to facilitate the transfer of South-West Africa.

### SOUTH AFRICAN VIEW OF COUNCIL'S COMPETENCE

The Foreign Minister did not reply directly to the Council's letter. His letter of September 26 to the Secretary-General, however, set out South Africa's view of the relevant General Assembly resolutions and the Council's competence. The Foreign Minister characterized the General Assembly's 1966 resolution terminating South Africa's mandate as illegal. He said that the Assembly had no legal authority to terminate unilaterally South Africa's right to administer the territory and denied that South Africa had failed to fulfill its obligation to ensure the well-being of the inhabitants. He referred to the inability of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to agree on practical means to implement the resolution and the reservations expressed by many countries about the resolution creating the Council for South-West Africa as evidence of the unreality of the Assembly's approach. While indicating the willingness of South Africa to discuss South-West Africa with "any other genuinely interested Governments," the Foreign Minister said that South Africa "will resist with all means at her disposal any attempt to endanger the safety of

the country and the peoples committed to her care.”

The Council for South-West Africa held its third meeting on October 16 at which it took note of South Africa's failure to reply directly to its letter and discussed the substance of the South African Foreign Minister's letter to the Secretary-General. The Council concluded that South Africa's unwillingness to comply with the General Assembly's resolutions constituted “flagrant defiance.”

At several meetings, the Council considered the possibility of arranging for the representation of South-West Africa in the ECA and issuing U.N. travel documents to nationals of the territory. No decisions on these matters were taken. Attention also was given to communications from South-West Africans and others.

#### **COUNCIL REPORT TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

In its report to the General Assembly on November 10 the Council described the continued presence of South Africa in the territory as “an illegal act, a usurpation of power and a foreign occupation of the territory which seriously threaten international peace and security.” The report recommended that the General Assembly take the necessary measures, including a request for appropriate action by the Security Council, to enable the Council for South-West Africa to discharge its responsibilities.

## **General Assembly Consideration**

Beginning December 5 South-West Africa was considered in plenary meetings of the 22d General Assembly. Petitioners, most of whom represented South-West African nationalist organizations, had been

heard in the Fourth Committee between October 19 and 23.

On December 16 the General Assembly approved a draft resolution submitted by 45 African, Asian, and other countries on South Africa's continued presence in the territory. By a vote of 93 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 18 abstentions (U.S.), the resolution, *inter alia*, reaffirmed the General Assembly's previous resolutions on the international status of South-West Africa and the right of the people to freedom and independence. It condemned South Africa's refusal to cooperate in implementing these resolutions and declared that South Africa's continued presence in the territory was a flagrant violation of the territorial integrity and international status of South-West Africa. The resolution appealed to all member states, particularly the major trading partners of South Africa and those countries that have economic and other interests there and in South-West Africa, to take effective measures to ensure South African withdrawal from the territory. It also requested the Security Council to take effective steps to enable the Council for South-West Africa to discharge its responsibilities toward the territory. Finally, the resolution decided to keep the question of South-West Africa on the Assembly's agenda. While supporting the view that South Africa's continued presence in South-West Africa was in violation of the international status of the territory, the United States abstained because the resolution reaffirmed a previous resolution establishing the Council for South-West Africa on which the United States had abstained.

On the same day the General Assembly also approved the Secretary-General's suggestion that the interim appointment of Constantin A. Stavropoulos as Acting Commissioner for South-West Africa be indefinitely extended.

## “Terrorism” Trials

The prosecution of 37 South-West Africans by the Republic of South Africa received wide attention at the United Nations in 1967. The South-West Africans were arrested by the South African police for alleged subversive political activities and armed rebellion. They were held incommunicado and without legal counsel or trial for periods as long as a year and a half. It was not until the passage by South Africa's Parliament of the Terrorism Act on June 12, 1967, that the men were formally charged with terrorism, a crime punishable by death, and brought to trial. Judicial proceedings began September 11.

The Committee of 24 began consideration of the trial on the same day. On September 12 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Eugenie M. Anderson, analyzed the Terrorism Act as follows:

The legislation has retroactive effect, permits the police and prosecution to strip the accused of rights which are essential to proper defense and fair trial, and thus violates the essence of due process and the rule of law. Moreover, by its wide and loose definition of offenses, the Act shuts off avenues of peaceful dissent in South-West Africa and thereby generates the very behavior it seeks to punish. It is another instance of conduct in violation of the terms of the mandate of the kind which gave rise to General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 and which has deprived South Africa of the right to continue its administration of South-West Africa. It is thus also legislation which, in its application to South-West Africa, is without lawful authority and in violation of the international status of South-West Africa.

An Afro-Asian and Yugoslav draft resolution condemning the arrest of the South-West Africans as illegal and a violation of the international status of the territory and calling upon South Africa to release the defendants was approved on September

12 by a vote of 21 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (Australia, U.K.).

In a letter of November 28 to the General Assembly the President of the Council for South-West Africa transmitted the text of a consensus, adopted at the Council's sixth meeting on November 27, which noted with concern the arrest, deportation, and trial at Pretoria of the 37 South-West Africans. The consensus called upon South Africa to respect the international status of the territory and to release the defendants. It appealed to U.N. members to use their influence with South Africa to obtain compliance and called the urgent attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council to the situation in the territory.

Later, the trial was considered by the General Assembly. In a December 14 statement before the Assembly, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, said that South Africa's actions in South-West Africa since October 27, 1966, reaffirmed the wisdom of the General Assembly's decision to terminate South Africa's mandate. He cited South Africa's failure to heed the resolution of the Committee of 24 and described the Terrorism Act and the trial of the 37 South-West Africans "as repugnant to all who believe in justice under law."

While noting that neither lawlessness nor the absence of a functioning judiciary could be contemplated, the U.S. Representative said that the application of the Terrorism Act to South-West Africa was inadmissible. He spelled out provisions of the Act to show the extent to which it was incompatible with the rule of law; for example: the Act is retroactive; it places the burden of proof on the accused; it authorizes arrest without a warrant and indefinite detention without access to legal counsel; it allows joint trial of persons accused of separate offenses; it permits an acquitted person to be tried on new

charges arising out of the same acts; and it defines offenses with a vagueness approaching absurdity.

The U.S. Representative said that the international community could not be certain that other South-West Africans were not being held under the Terrorism Act. The international community had a right and a responsibility to call upon South Africa for the full facts. It also had a right and a responsibility to call upon South Africa to halt the prosecutions, release and repatriate the accused, and cease the illegal application of the Terrorism Act to South-West Africa. The United States, he said, called "with all the vigor at its command" for South African compliance.

On December 16 the General As-

sembly adopted a resolution on the trial cosponsored by the United States and 72 other countries. By a vote of 100 to 2 (Portugal, South Africa), with 1 abstention (Malawi), the resolution condemned the arrest, deportation, and trial of the South-West Africans as a flagrant violation of the defendants' rights, the international status of the territory, and the General Assembly's 1966 resolution terminating South Africa's mandate. It called upon South Africa to discontinue the trial and to release and repatriate the defendants. It appealed to all countries and international organizations to use their influence with South Africa to obtain its compliance, and it drew the attention of the Security Council to the situation in the territory.

# Scholarship Programs

## Trust Territories

The U.N. Secretary-General submits an annual report to the Trusteeship Council on the special scholarship program established in 1952 by the General Assembly for the inhabitants of trust territories. In his report for the period May 20, 1966, to May 20, 1967, the Secretary-General stated that almost all of the scholarships awarded in the past had gone to inhabitants of the former trust territories in Africa. Twelve countries offered scholarships under this program during the reporting period.

The Secretary-General's report was considered by the Trusteeship Council on June 14 and 29. On June 14 the Soviet Representative charged that the administering authorities deliberately discouraged inhabitants of the trust territories from studying abroad in order to retard their preparation for independence.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Anderson, rejected the Soviet allegation and stated that over the previous 10 years more than 40 Micronesians had studied abroad on a variety of U.N. scholarships. It was U.S. policy, she continued, to allow the inhabitants of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands to decide for themselves where they wish to study. The dearth of Micronesians studying in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe could be attributed to the language barrier and inadequate funds.

The Trusteeship Council decided to take note of the report of the Secretary-General.

## Non-Self-Governing Territories

Since 1954 the General Assembly has regularly invited member states to extend study and training facili-

ties to the people of non-self-governing territories, and the Secretary-General reports annually to the Assembly on the number of scholarships offered and awarded each year.

The Secretary-General's report of November 28 transmitted information from 12 countries on scholarships offered and/or awarded during 1967. Since the beginning of the program 27 countries, including the United States, have offered scholarships.

The Assembly's Fourth Committee considered the Secretary-General's report on December 15 and 16. On December 16 the Committee adopted without a vote a draft resolution that, among other things, reaffirmed previous General Assembly resolutions urging member states to continue to offer scholarships to the people of non-self-governing territories, and requested the Secretary-General to report again to the 23d session on the further progress of the program.

The draft resolution was adopted without objection by the General Assembly on December 19.

## **South-West Africa, Portuguese Territories, and South Africa**

The General Assembly established special educational and training programs for South-West Africans in 1961 and for Africans from territories under Portuguese administration in 1962. The Secretary-General has submitted annual reports on these programs.

In reports of November 13 and 20 the Secretary-General noted that a total of 46 scholarships for South-West Africans had been financed by the United Nations from 1963 to 1966, and that as of November 1967 eleven students were currently en-

rolled in educational institutions. In addition, 29 member states plus the Federal Republic of Germany had reported the offer and/or award of scholarships to South-West Africans since the beginning of the program.

On August 16 the United States informed the Secretary-General that it had offered a cumulative total of 45 scholarships and awarded 42 scholarships to South-West Africans through the year ending June 30. Thirty-eight South-West Africans were continuing their studies in the United States under renewed scholarships, which were intended to provide the students with their first university degree. In addition, the U.S. Government was providing 67 scholarships to South-West Africans for study at the secondary school level in Africa.

In reporting on the special training program for Africans from territories under Portuguese administration, the Secretary-General noted that, from 1964 to 1966, 149 secondary school and university scholarships had been financed by the United Nations, and that in November 1967, 138 scholarship holders were enrolled in schools and universities. In addition 32 countries had reported the offer and/or award of scholarships to Portuguese Africans since the beginning of the program.

The United States informed the Secretary-General on August 14 that it had awarded a cumulative total of 137 scholarships to Portuguese Africans through the year ending June 30. One hundred twenty-seven Portuguese Africans (61 from Angola, 65 from Mozambique, and 1 from Portuguese Guinea) were continuing their studies in the United States under renewed scholarships, which were intended to provide the students with their first university degree. In addition, the U.S. Government was providing 81 scholarships to Portuguese Africans for study at the secondary school level in Africa.

Acting on a June 1964 invitation from the Security Council, the Secretary-General established an educational and training program in 1965 for the benefit of South Africans and appealed to all U.N. members for contributions. On November 13, the Secretary-General reported that contributions and pledges to the South African program amounted to \$806,888 during the period 1965-67. There were 16 contributing countries, including the United States which had contributed \$75,000. Three states had offered assistance in the form of scholarships. A total of 268 scholarships had been awarded, of which 201 were still in use. Seven South Africans were studying in the United States under the program.

The Secretary-General stated that, although the program's goals were modest, the financial response from member states had not been very encouraging. In addition, it was felt that too few students had been placed in African educational institutions. The Secretary-General hoped that, with the cooperation of African states, his efforts to orient the program toward the African Continent would be successful.

## Consolidation of Programs

At its 21st session in 1966 the General Assembly authorized the Secretary-General to study the consolidation of the three special educational and training programs for South-West Africans, Africans from territories under Portuguese administration, and South Africans, and to report his findings to the 22d session. At the same time, the Secretary-General was authorized to establish a committee from among member states to advise him on the question of consolidation and on means to develop and expand the program. The United States was selected, along with Botswana, Canada, Iran, Sweden,

Tanzania, the United Kingdom, and Zambia, to serve on the Advisory Committee.

The Secretary-General's report on the consolidation of special training programs for southern Africans, dated November 13, noted that administrative arrangements for consolidation had been completed. He proposed that the General Assembly authorize consolidation; establish a voluntary trust fund to cover the operational costs of all three programs; and authorize the Secretary-General to appeal for funds to achieve a target of \$3 million for the 3-year period, 1968-70.

The Fourth Committee considered the Secretary-General's reports on scholarship programs and consolidation as one item on December 16, and a draft resolution on the question of consolidation was approved the same day. The resolution, *inter alia*, decided to integrate the three educational and training programs and to include Southern Rhodesians in the consolidated programs without, however, interfering with existing U.N. programs for the inhabitants of that territory; requested the Secretary-General to develop and expand the consolidated programs and to grant subventions to educational institutions in Africa that are training refugee students; requested the President of the General Assembly to nominate members of a committee to advise the Secretary-General on the granting of subventions; established a voluntary trust fund to finance the operational costs of the consolidated program; authorized the Secretary-General to appeal for funds to achieve a target of \$3 million for the 3-year period from 1968 to 1970; and requested the Secretary-General to report to the 23d session of the General Assembly on the progress of the consolidated program.

On December 19, the General Assembly approved the draft resolution by a vote of 113 (U.S.) to 2, with 1 abstention.

*Legal and  
Constitutional  
Developments*

*Part Four*



# International Court of Justice

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One new case was submitted to the International Court of Justice during 1967. In two letters dated February 16, 1967, the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs notified the Court concerning Special Agreements between Denmark and the Federal Republic of Germany, and the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands, under which differences concerning the delimitation of the continental shelf in the North Sea would be submitted to the Court. Under the terms of the Special Agreements, the Court is requested to decide what principles and rules of international law are applicable to the delimitation by the countries concerned of the areas of the continental shelf in the North Sea which appertain to each of the parties beyond the partial boundaries determined in bilateral conventions between Denmark and Germany in 1965, and Germany and the Netherlands in 1964. Germany filed its Memorials on August 21.

In the other case on the Court's docket, Case Concerning the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power Co., Ltd., the Court issued an order extending to May 1968 the time limit for the filing of the Rejoinder of the Government of Spain. This case, originally submitted to the Court in 1958, concerns a dispute between Belgian nationals who were shareholders in the Barcelona Traction, Light and Power

Co., Ltd., a Canadian corporation, and the Spanish Government. In its complaint, the Belgian Government, on behalf of its nationals, alleged that the conduct of the Spanish authorities in declaring the company bankrupt and liquidating its property was contrary to international law and that Spain was responsible for the resulting damages. In 1964 the Court rejected Spain's Preliminary Objections to the jurisdiction and joined the remaining Preliminary Objections to the merits:

(1) that Belgium's claim is inadmissible because it lacks standing in law to make such a claim on behalf of Belgian interests in a Canadian company, assuming that the Belgian interests were established; and

(2) that even if Belgium had standing, the claim is inadmissible because of failure to exhaust local remedies. The parties are now proceeding with their final pleadings on these issues and on the merits of the case.

During 1967 Turkey extended the validity of its declaration of acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court for a further 5-year period from May 23. South Africa notified the U.N. Secretary-General of the withdrawal of its declaration of acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. The South African Representative in his notification stated that his government was con-

sidering the revision of its 1955 declaration in light of changed circumstances, *inter alia*, the fact that South Africa is no longer a member of the Commonwealth.

On December 19 the 22d General Assembly unanimously decided that beginning January 1, 1968, the members of the Court would receive a salary of \$30,000, with the President receiving a special allowance of \$7,200 and the Vice President a special allowance of \$4,500. Court salaries had been \$25,000 since 1962.

The Court elected new officers for

1968-70. Judge Bustamante y Rivero of Peru, elected to the Court in 1961, was elected President. Judge Vladimir M. Koretsky of the Soviet Union, elected to the Court in 1951, was elected Vice President.

For the first time the Court was officially represented at the regular session of the General Assembly. The new President of the Court, Judge Bustamante, attended the opening of the 22d session and spent several weeks in New York. Judges Jessup (United States) and Lachs (Poland) also visited the General Assembly.

## International Law Commission

The International Law Commission promotes the progressive development and codification of international law and is composed of 25 experts who serve in their individual capacities. At the 21st General Assembly in 1966 Richard D. Kearney of the United States was elected to a 5-year term on the Commission.

At its 19th session, held in Geneva from May 8 to July 14, the Commission completed a series of draft articles on special missions. Work on the draft articles began in 1960. Because the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations deals only with permanent diplomatic missions, the Commission believed that there should also be rules for "*ad hoc* diplomacy." The Commission recommended to the 22d General Assembly that a convention on special missions be concluded; on December 1 the Assembly decided unanimously to include the item on the provisional agenda for its 23d session and invited members to submit comments on the Commission's draft by July 1, 1968.

The General Assembly also noted with approval the Commission's proposed work program for 1968 which

included (1) succession of states and governments, (2) state responsibility, and (3) relations between states and intergovernmental organizations. In addition, the Assembly recommended that the Commission study the topic of most-favored-nation clauses in the law of treaties.

During the 19th session of the Commission, the U.N. Office at Geneva organized its third seminar on international law for advanced students and young government officials responsible in their respective countries for dealing with the subject. Twenty-three participants, each from a different country, attended 11 meetings of the seminar as well as meetings of the Commission held during that period. Members of the Commission and the U.N. Secretariat delivered lectures to the seminar participants. The General Assembly subsequently expressed the hope that other seminars would be organized in conjunction with future sessions of the Commission, with the continued participation of a reasonable number of nationals of developing countries.

As in past years, representatives of

the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee, the European Committee on Legal Cooperation, and the Inter-American Juridical Committee attended the meetings of the Commis-

sion and informed it of the work of those bodies. The Commission in turn sent observers to the 1967 session of the Asian-African and European committees.

# Law of Treaties

In 1966 the International Law Commission had submitted Draft Articles on the Law of Treaties to the 21st General Assembly which had then adopted a resolution calling for an international conference of plenipotentiaries to conclude an international convention on the law of treaties. The conference would be in two sessions, the first in 1968 and the second in 1969, and the Draft Articles would serve as the basic proposal.

Most of the seven meetings devoted to the subject between October 9 and 26 by the 22d Assembly's Sixth (Legal) Committee were taken up with a general debate on the Draft Articles themselves and constituted, in a sense, a preliminary round of the conference.

## Committee Discussion

On October 20 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Richard D. Kearney, stressed the great importance of the proposed convention and the need for careful and critical revision of certain of the Draft Articles, saying:

A convention on the law of treaties based on those articles could be the most far-reaching contribution to the establishment of international law that has been thus far achieved by humanity. But it is likewise true that a convention based on those articles could have an adverse effect upon the development of international law and, more than that, upon the maintenance of world peace and security.

Some of the provisions were too conservative, he noted, such as those deal-

ing with treaty interpretation, which failed to reflect the weight given by today's foreign offices to the interpretive insights provided by a treaty's preparatory work. Other provisions such as those dealing with invalidity of treaties went far beyond current law and practice. Sweeping invalidity provisions, imprecisely formulated and defined, were potentially very damaging in light of the failure of the Draft Articles to provide adequate safeguards against unwarranted unilateral termination or withdrawal. He continued:

... unless we can clarify the grounds upon which a treaty may be invalidated, the proposed Convention on the Law of Treaties could lead to denunciations of treaties on insubstantial and unsubstantiated grounds. This is a prospect which all states should be most anxious to prevent. It is a possibility which smaller and weaker states should above all be concerned to avoid. . . . The greatest legal protections in the international field and the United Nations Charter itself have been put into effect through the treaty process. We should, therefore, be most hesitant in adopting any rules which would tend to cast doubt upon the general validity of treaties or which would permit unwarranted unilateral terminations or withdrawal.

He further warned that:

Failure to provide for ready recourse to some mandatory means for the impartial settlement of disputes would mean a Convention on the Law of Treaties which is incomplete, one-sided, and susceptible to misuse.

Representatives of the Communist states and many of the states of Africa and Asia, however, found the articles dealing with invalidity to be a desir-

able "progressive development of international law."

All delegates who spoke on the holding of the conference expressed gratitude to the Austrian Government whose invitation to hold both sessions of the conference in Vienna had been accepted by the U.N. Secretary-General.

## Assembly Action

After discussion of other arrangements concerning the conference, the

Sixth Committee by a vote of 91 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, adopted a resolution which fixed the first session of the U.N. Conference on the Law of Treaties for March 1968, invited participating states to submit by February 15 any additional comments and draft amendments they might wish to propose, and requested the Secretary-General to transmit to the conference the summary records of the 22d Assembly on this item and all other relevant documentation. On December 6 by a vote of 89 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention, the General Assembly adopted the resolution unchanged.

# Friendly Relations Among States

The Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations met from July 17 to August 18 at the U.N. Office at Geneva. The United States was represented by Herbert Reis, Assistant Legal Adviser, Department of State.

The Committee's work was subsequently considered by the Sixth (Legal) Committee of the 22d General Assembly between November 6 and 22.

## Background

In 1962 the General Assembly decided to undertake a formulation of seven legal principles basic to the international legal regime established by the U.N. Charter. Acting in furtherance of article 13 of the Charter, which assigns to the Assembly the responsibility for encouraging the progressive

development and codification of international law, the General Assembly appointed a special committee to undertake this task. The Special Committee currently consists of 31 members:

Algeria	Lebanon
Argentina	Malagasy
Australia	Republic
Burma	Mexico
Cameroon	Netherlands
Canada	Nigeria
Chile	Poland
Czechoslovakia	Romania
Dahomey	Sweden
France	Syria
Ghana	U.S.S.R.
Guatemala	U.A.R.
India	United Kingdom
Italy	United States
Japan	Venezuela
Kenya	Yugoslavia

The seven basic Charter principles concern the good faith fulfillment of international obligations, cooperation among states, peaceful settlement of disputes, sovereign equality of states, the prohibition against the threat or use of force, nonintervention in the domestic affairs of states, and equal

rights and self-determination of peoples.

At its first session in Mexico City in 1964, the Special Committee adopted a statement on the principle of sovereign equality and reached near agreement on a statement concerning the prohibition against the use of force.

At its second session in New York in 1966, the Special Committee agreed upon a statement concerning peaceful settlement of disputes and revised and confirmed the earlier text on sovereign equality.

At the opening of the 1967 session, the United Kingdom introduced a draft omnibus declaration on all seven legal principles. This text had been developed through consultations with the United States, Australia, Canada, France, Italy, Japan, and the Netherlands in the weeks preceding the 1967 session.

## Good Faith Fulfillment of Obligations

In 1967, after lengthy negotiations, the Special Committee completed a consensus statement of the principle that states shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter.

The U.K. draft contained the following statement of this principle:

1. Every state has a duty to fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by it in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

2. Every state has the duty to fulfill in good faith its obligations under the generally recognized principles and rules of international law.

3. Every state has the duty to fulfill in good faith its obligations under international agreements valid under the generally recognized principles and rules of international law.

4. Obligations under international agreements and other obligations under international law may not be lawfully avoided by reason of either national law or national policy.

5. Where obligations arising under international agreements are in conflict with the obligations of members of the United Nations under the Charter of the United Nations, the obligations under the Charter shall prevail.

A number of African and Eastern European countries objected to the third paragraph of the U.K. proposal. These countries argued that the duty of fulfillment can arise only in connection with obligations of treaties "freely concluded and on a basis of equality," and they insisted upon a limiting statement to this effect. The United States strongly opposed this view, pointing out that the application of such extremely general language, however appealing, would create serious uncertainty in that it could be invoked as an escape clause from treaty obligations one party had come to dislike with serious effects on the stability of treaties generally. The United States also noted that the entire subject of treaties was to be dealt with at the 1968 Conference on the Law of Treaties, and that it would be better to leave the "freely concluded and on a basis of equality" idea for that conference to deal with in connection with detailed rules on the invalidity of treaties.

A second point of controversy was the U.K. proposal that international legal obligations cannot be lawfully avoided "by reason of either national law or national policy." Western delegations stressed the importance of this articulation of the supremacy of international law over municipal law in the event of conflict between them. Some African countries pointed out that the notion of supremacy of international law was adequately dealt with in paragraph 2 of the U.K. proposal and argued that the very purpose of elaborating this principle was to call attention to the necessity of fulfilling international duties.

A consensus text was eventually agreed upon that incorporated paragraphs 1, 2, 3, and 5 of the U.K. proposal.

## Duty To Cooperate

In 1966 the Special Committee had nearly reached agreement on a consensus formulation of this principle. The single unresolved issue was the extent, if any, of a state's obligation to avoid discrimination in the conduct of its international relations. As a compromise the United States had proposed that international relations be conducted "with a view to realizing international cooperation free from discrimination based on differences in political, economic, and social systems." This would express the concept as a goal, but one that might be beyond the power of a country to guarantee. Others insisted upon a legal duty to conduct foreign affairs "with a view to ensuring the realization of international cooperation."

At the 1967 session the United States and certain other members decided that the debate on this point had become sterile and entirely new language should be proposed to deal with the concept of discrimination.

The U.K. proposal in 1967 for the elaboration of the duty to cooperate included all the language that had been agreed to in 1966. It sought to avoid reviving the debate with regard to a "guarantee" of achieving international cooperation and omitted any reference to prohibiting discrimination, although the U.K. Representative indicated willingness to add a noncontentious reference to discrimination.

The Special Committee considered at length a nonaligned proposal prohibiting "discrimination based on differences in political, economic, and social systems." The United States agreed that discrimination based "solely" on differences in national systems would be inconsistent with the duty to cooperate, but pointed out that a country might quite legitimately grant advantages to a neighbor or close ally while withholding them from another country. The United

States urged that care should therefore be taken to avoid the appearance of prohibiting such distinctions.

At the end of the session the drafting committee of the Special Committee produced a consensus text largely consistent with the U.K. draft but including a noncontentious reference to discrimination. The consensus text also contained a provision on human rights, based on a Canadian proposal, that included a strong statement concerning religious freedom.

The final statement read as follows:

1. States have the duty to cooperate with one another, irrespective of the differences in their political, economic, and social systems, in the various spheres of international relations, in order to maintain international peace and security and to promote international economic stability and progress, the general welfare of nations and international cooperation free from discrimination based on such differences.

2. To this end:

- (a) States shall cooperate with other states in the maintenance of international peace and security.
- (b) States shall cooperate in the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, and in the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination and all forms of religious intolerance.
- (c) States shall conduct their international relations in the economic, social, cultural, technical, and trade fields in accordance with the principles of sovereign equality and nonintervention.
- (d) States members of the United Nations have the duty to take joint and separate action in cooperation with the United Nations in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter.

3. States should cooperate in the economic, social, and cultural fields as well as in the field of science and technology and for the promotion of international cultural and educational progress. States should cooperate in the promotion of economic growth throughout the world, especially that of the developing countries.

Speaking in the General Assembly's Sixth Committee on November 7, Ambassador Robert S. Benjamin, the U.S. Representative, pointed out that although this text:

. . . may not be as tightly worded as the text on good faith fulfillment, it represents a strenuous and, we think, not successful effort by all members of the Special Committee to achieve a mutually acceptable result. . . .

The keystone of the cooperation text is interdependence. The thesis of the text is that cooperation is an indispensable condition for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of international economic stability and progress and the general welfare of nations. In one sense this is a truism . . . . However, in another and more important sense, the statement of interdependence in legal terms is of no little importance. It is a reminder of the fact that whatever the facts of geography, there are no islands in this second half of the twentieth century.

## Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

The United States and certain other states were not wholly satisfied with the consensus text on peaceful settlement produced by the Special Committee at the 1966 session. They considered that it failed to go far enough in indicating the proper field of application of the principle. Therefore, the U.K. proposal at the 1967 session not only included all points of agreement reached earlier but included such additional elements as a proviso that international legal disputes should, as a general rule, be referred to the International Court of Justice if not otherwise resolved; that states should accept the Court's compulsory jurisdiction with as few reservations as possible; and that treaties should regularly include a provision for the settlement of disputes under which any party to an unresolved treaty dispute would be entitled to refer it to the International Court of Justice or to an arbitral tribunal for decision.

Other delegations introduced proposals concerning matters they considered should be dealt with under peaceful settlement. Chile, for example, proposed that neither the pro-

visions of chapter VIII of the U.N. Charter on regional arrangements nor such treaty obligations concerning regional arrangements as those contained in the Charter of the Organization of American States should be taken to limit in any way the right of a U.N. member to have "recourse direct to the United Nations in defense of its rights." Eastern European countries stressed the importance of direct negotiations as the primary and favored means for settlement of international disputes and opposed references to the International Court of Justice.

The Special Committee was unable to agree on any of these proposals and left unchanged the consensus text it had developed in 1966.

## Sovereign Equality of States

The Special Committee also left unchanged its 1966 consensus on sovereign equality and put aside a number of controversial proposals on which agreement could not be reached. For example, the Eastern Europeans and a number of African countries had proposed stating the right of every country to dispose freely of its national wealth and natural resources, without any reference to obligations under international law to pay compensation in the event of nationalization, or to the duty to respect valid concession arrangements. To restore the balance, the United Kingdom proposed at the 1967 session:

Every state has the inalienable right freely to dispose of its national wealth and natural resources; in the exercise of this right, due regard shall be paid to the rules of international law and to the terms of agreements validly entered into.

Other controversial concepts or formulations that the Special Committee set aside included a Czechoslovak statement of a "right" of every state to take part in the resolution of international questions affecting its legiti-

mate interests; a U.A.R. proposal to state the "right" of a country to remove foreign military bases from its territory; another U.A.R. proposal to deny the right of any state to conduct experiments or resort to any action capable of having harmful effects on other countries; and a U.S. proposal to state that all members are equally obligated to share the burdens of U.N. membership, and that no member shall be deprived of its rights of membership except in accordance with provisions of the Charter.

## Prohibition of Threat or Use of Force

While agreement on detailed rules concerning the use of force would be difficult at any time, the Middle East war made Committee members all the more reluctant to agree to new propositions. In addition the Eastern Europeans appeared reluctant to agree to a statement of this principle because of the conflict in Viet-Nam.

The United States attributed special importance to a number of points in the Special Committee's discussion on the uses of force. The U.S. delegation stressed the need for an agreed statement that the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force relates not only to established boundaries and frontiers but to international lines of demarcation as well. Ambassador Benjamin stated in the General Assembly's Sixth Committee on November 7:

As many members are aware, the United States has consistently held the view that force which would be illicit if employed across frontiers of great antiquity is equally illegitimate when employed across relatively recent international lines of demarcation. It has seemed to us that failure to recognize explicitly the application of article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter to international demarcation lines can only stimulate anarchy rather than serve to make the use of force less attractive. That, after all, is a large part of

the function of rules concerning the use of force.

Some have said that our call for an express provision would seem to imply that an armistice demarcation line is political in character and eternal in life span. This is not so. Applying article 2, paragraph 4, to a demarcation line does not carry with it any implication of the immutability of the line nor, surely, does it suggest that it cannot or should not be altered. What this principle does is to stress the fact that change must be peaceful, and that employment of armed force across international demarcation lines is not permissible. Indeed, everyone recognizes that the established frontiers of older states may be peacefully changed; treaties of cession, border adjustment agreements, and arrangements for mutual mapping are, after all, nothing new.

The United States also pointed out in the Special Committee that the prohibition in article 2, paragraph 4, of the U.N. Charter outlaws only armed force, and that economic, political, or ideological "pressure" or "coercion" is not included. Again, the United States drew attention to the need for great care in considering a rule pressed by Latin American members which would assert the inviolability of national territory and deny the legality of any military occupation, emphasizing, *inter alia*, the possible incompatibility of such a broad rule with the legal status of Berlin.

The Czechoslovak and other Eastern European delegations strongly pressed for a prohibition against war propaganda, but the United States stressed the undesirability of such a statement without an agreed description of what is meant by "war propaganda." The freedom of speech aspects of the matter were also discussed.

Most of the Africans and Asians asserted that the prohibition against the use of force did not apply to "the right of peoples to self-defense against colonial domination, in the exercise of their right to self-determination." The Latin American delegations proposed a duty to refrain from "the threat or use of force against those dependent peoples to which resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and



peoples is applicable." Along the same line was a proposal by Czechoslovakia that would call upon every state to refrain "from all armed actions or repressive measures of any kind directed against peoples struggling against colonialism for their freedom and independence."

These questions dealing with the relationship between the nonuse of force and the principle of self-determination are among the most sensitive aspects of the Special Committee's work and have yet to be settled.

In view of the substantive differences among the members of the Special Committee, a working group of the drafting committee, consisting of the United States, Mexico, and Czechoslovakia, produced a report on points of agreement and differences that would reflect the prevailing situation in the Special Committee. The Special Committee's future work on this principle is expected to be based on this report.

For example, with regard to boundary problems, the report stated:

There was agreement in principle that every state has the duty to refrain from the threat or use of force to violate the existing boundaries of another state or as a means of solving international disputes, including territorial disputes and problems concerning frontiers between states. There was no agreement whether there should be a reference to international lines of demarcation in this connection.

With regard to the interrelationship of nonuse of force, nonintervention, and self-determination, the report noted:

There was agreement in principle that every state has the duty to refrain from organizing or encouraging the organization of irregular or volunteer forces for incursion into the territory of another state.

No agreement was reached whether a statement to this effect should be included under the principle concerning the threat or use of force, or under the principle of nonintervention.

Nor was agreement reached on the application of this rule to situations where force is used to deprive peoples of dependent territories of the right to self-determination. . . .

There was agreement in principle that every state has the duty to refrain from involvement in civil strife and terrorist acts in another state. However, agreement was not reached as to whether a statement to this effect should be included under the principle concerning the threat or use of force or under the principle of nonintervention. Nor was agreement reached with regard to its application to situations where force is used to deprive peoples of dependent territories of the right to self-determination. . . .

There was agreement on the need to include a list of specific exceptions under the relevant provisions of the Charter to the prohibition of the threat or use of force. There was no agreement on the concept of "self-defense of peoples against colonial domination in the exercises of the right of self-determination."

## Equal Rights and Self-Determination of Peoples

The Special Committee at its 1967 session continued to grapple with the problem of defining the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. The United States and certain Western and other countries have tried to give this vital principle the widest possible scope, focusing on the procedures by which self-determination is to be achieved rather than simply on a list of the "elements" of the principle.

One of the formidable difficulties involved in writing a detailed legal statement of self-determination is how to define and make less ambiguous the description of "peoples." The United States and others have stressed the right of every dependent people to determine its own future promptly and freely. They have stressed that self-determination applies not only to dependent peoples of non-self-governing and trust territories but also to any people subjugated to alien rule. They have also emphasized the importance of stating rules with sufficient precision to avoid stimulating internal strife by giving dissident

groups an ill-founded rationale for civil disorder.

The United States helped to develop the proposal introduced by the United Kingdom at the 1967 Special Committee session on this principle, which reads as follows:

1. Every state has the duty to respect the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and to implement it with regard to the peoples within its jurisdiction, inasmuch as the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination, and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation. The principle is applicable in the case of a colony or other non-self-governing territory, a zone of military occupation, or a Trust Territory, or, subject to para. 4 below, a territory which is geographically distinct and ethnically or culturally diverse from the remainder of the territory of the state administering it.

2. In accordance with the above principle:

- (a) Every state shall promote, individually and together with other states, universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- (b) Every state shall accord to peoples within its jurisdiction, in the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a right freely to determine their political status and to pursue their social, economic, and cultural development without discrimination as to race, creed, or color.
- (c) Every state shall refrain from any action aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity of any other state.
- (d) Every state exercising authority over a colony or other non-self-governing territory, a zone of military occupation, or a trust territory shall, in implementation of the principle, maintain a readiness to accord self-government through their free choice, to the peoples concerned, and to make in good faith such efforts as may be required to assist them in the progressive development of institutions of free self-government, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advance-

ment; and, in the case of trust territories, shall conform to the requirements of chapter XII of the Charter of the United Nations.

3. States exercising authority over colonies or other non-self-governing territories, zones of military occupation, or trust territories shall be deemed to have implemented this principle fully with regard to the peoples of those territories upon the restoration of self-government or, in the case of territories which have not previously enjoyed self-government, upon its achievement, through the free choice of the peoples concerned. The achievement of self-government may take the form of emergence as a sovereign and independent state; free association with an independent state; or integration with an independent state.

4. States enjoying full sovereignty and independence, and possessed of a representative government, effectively functioning as such to all distinct peoples within their territory, shall be considered to be conducting themselves in conformity with this principle as regards those peoples.

Although no consensus was reached, a Special Committee working group agreed that the principle is universal and does not apply only to peoples within the territories of U.N. members. The working group also reached agreement on a rule prohibiting action aimed at disrupting national unity when it agreed that "every state shall refrain from any action aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and territorial integrity" of any other state.

## Nonintervention

Neither the Special Committee nor the General Assembly made any progress in articulating the principle of nonintervention. This failure was due primarily to widespread insistence on using as the statement on this principle the "Declaration on Nonintervention" adopted by the General Assembly in 1965 with the affirmative vote of the United States and only the United Kingdom abstaining.

In the U.S. view the Nonintervention Declaration states general political principles but does not state the law of the matter; it had been too sweepingly drafted to represent an acceptable statement of international law, and if literally interpreted it could bar virtually all diplomatic intercourse.

Nevertheless, the Special Committee at its 1966 session had adopted, over Western opposition, a procedural resolution providing that it would "abide by" the Declaration in its work on this subject. Later that year the General Assembly agreed to authorize the Special Committee to "consider proposals . . . with the aim of widening the area of agreement" in the Declaration.

At the 1967 session of the Special Committee, the U.K. draft statement of the law of nonintervention concentrated upon the essential aspects of the matter. First, it stressed that what is prohibited is intervention, not mere "pressure" or even "coercion" unless amounting to intervention. Second, the U.K. proposal stressed the illegality of such contemporary forms of indirect intervention as clandestine supply of arms and funds and the encouragement of civil war. The U.K. draft stated:

1. No state shall intervene for any reason in the domestic affairs of any other state. Every state has the right freely to choose the form and degree of its association with other states.
2. Accordingly,
  - a. All acts of intervention by the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of a state, direct or indirect, overt or covert, are illegal. Such acts as invasion, armed attack, the organization, financing, supplying, or other encouragement of covert activities designed to achieve the violent overthrow of the government of another state, terrorism directed or stimulated from outside a state, or the encouragement of civil war are equally illegal and equally menace the peace.
  - b. Intervention in order to coerce another state, whether involving meas-

ures of an economic, political, or other character, is a violation of international law and the Charter. The encouragement of such coercive measures by another state is likewise illegal.

3. Nothing in the foregoing paragraphs shall prejudice the responsibility of the United Nations for taking action to maintain international peace and security.

This proposal was not well received. The Latin Americans, joined by the African and Eastern European delegations, insisted that the U.K. proposal could not be considered because on its face it made no attempt to "widen the area of agreement" reflected in the nonintervention Declaration. These members asserted that only proposals "additional" to the rules laid down in the Nonintervention Declaration could be considered. The United States and other Western members pointed out, on the other hand, that they had agreed to the "widening of the area of agreement" formula in the General Assembly on the understanding that it would permit consideration of new proposals on their merits.

On the last day of the Special Committee session, 13 delegations introduced and threatened to put to a vote a draft resolution by which the Special Committee would have decided to include all of the operative paragraphs of the Nonintervention Declaration in its statement of the principle of nonintervention. The Western group strongly opposed this move as threatening the consensus procedure that formed the basis for the Special Committee's work. They indicated that their consent to texts on other principles had in part been founded on the desire to adhere to the consensus procedure and that they would not be prepared to maintain their agreement to statements on any of the seven principles unless the Special Committee made the same effort to reach consensus on each of the principles. The 13 delegations then announced that they would not press their resolution to a vote.

## Assembly Action

On November 10 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Benjamin, introduced in the Sixth Committee a draft resolution on the future work of the Special Committee that would have had it complete the elaboration of the principles concerning prohibition of force and equal rights and self-determination, and after agreed texts had been formulated on these two, nonintervention.

On November 17, 67 delegations circulated a second draft resolution that would have the Special Committee complete its formulations of the principles concerning force and self-determination but only consider proposals on nonintervention that would be "compatible with" the Nonintervention Declaration and that would have "the aim of widening the area of agreement already expressed" in that Declaration. The draft resolution also requested Special Committee members to engage in necessary preparatory consultations, and drew attention to the importance of achieving "general agreement" in elaborating the seven principles, but without prejudice to the possibility of adopting formulations by majority vote.

The United States opposed and requested a separate vote on paragraph 5 of the 67-power draft, which dealt with the principle of nonintervention, because of uncertainty about its meaning and the possibility that, under at least one interpretation, it would seriously prejudice the U.S. position. The paragraph was adopted on November 22 by a vote of 72 to 13 (U.S.) with 7 abstentions. The resolution as a whole was then adopted by a vote of 78 to 0, with 15 (U.S.) abstentions. After the vote Ambassador Benjamin said:

My delegation is uncertain whether our view of the Nonintervention Declaration is prejudiced by paragraph 5 of the resolution which we have voted on this afternoon. The text calls upon the Special

Committee to consider "proposals compatible with" the Nonintervention Declaration "with the aim of widening the area of agreement already expressed" in the Declaration. Some of the cosponsors of this text have suggested that it will, of course, not serve to rule out proposals in harmony or consistent with the Nonintervention Declaration, and that changes in that Declaration can be proposed and considered on their merits. Others have taken the position that any change in any of the operative paragraphs of the Nonintervention Declaration is intolerable and will not be permitted.

This latter view, if it were to be maintained, is unacceptable to the United States. It is unacceptable because we regard the Nonintervention Declaration as a statement of high policy, not an accurate statement of the law. It is further unacceptable because it would call into serious question the usefulness of General Assembly declarations as a means of giving evidence to and interpreting international law. Purportedly legal texts not subjected to careful and intense legal scrutiny cannot be treated as sacred and untouchable. We cannot admit, and the Assembly would be most unwise to assert, that proposed legal texts may be ruled out, by majority vote, not on their legal merits but simply on the basis of how they compare to some other document of controversial status.

On December 18 the General Assembly in plenary session approved the paragraph concerning nonintervention by a vote of 77 to 14 (U.S.), with 8 abstentions, and the resolution as a whole by 84 to 0, with 17 (U.S.) abstentions. The United States abstained on the resolution as a whole because of its doubts as to the meaning of the Special Committee's mandate with regard to the principle of nonintervention. After the vote in plenary Ambassador Benjamin explained:

Our decision to abstain on the resolution does not in any way weaken the view of the United States that the Special Committee on Friendly Relations, with its expert lawyers, its careful consideration of principles, and its consensus procedure, provides the best way to reach the goal of a unanimously adopted declaration on the principles of international law concerning friendly relations. We shall continue to work for a meaningful declaration, and our efforts in the Special Committee will be devoted to reaching that goal.

# Methods of Fact-Finding

After considering, since its 18th session, the question of methods of fact-finding in international relations, the General Assembly adopted a substantive resolution on the subject at its 22d session. The principal feature was a request to the Secretary-General "to prepare a register of experts, in legal and other fields, whose services the states parties to a dispute may use by agreement for fact-finding in relation to the dispute."

## Background

The Netherlands initiated consideration of the item in 1963 in conjunction with the General Assembly's discussion of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation among states. At that time the Assembly adopted a resolution that provided for a study of "the feasibility and desirability of establishing a special international body for fact-finding or of entrusting to an existing organization fact-finding responsibilities . . . ." In supporting this proposal the United States stressed that it did not commit the Assembly to any particular outcome.

Though comments were submitted by many member states in response to that and a later resolution, the Special Committee on the Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations was never able to give the subject more than cursory consideration. The 21st General Assembly therefore invited members to submit further views and decided to inscribe the question as a separate item on the provisional agenda of its 22d session.

## Working Group

In view of the limited number of meetings the Sixth Committee would

be able to devote to the subject and the accumulation of comments by governments and studies by the Secretary-General, many members at the 22d General Assembly supported the formation of a working group to prepare the ground for Sixth Committee consideration later in the session. Despite opposition from the Soviet bloc and others who questioned the need for and possible mandate of such a body, the Sixth Committee decided on November 3 to establish a 15-nation working group to report and make recommendations "on the possibilities of reconciliation of different views in order to expedite the consideration of the item by the Sixth Committee, in the light of the reports of the Secretary-General, the views expressed, and the proposals made." The proposal to establish the working group was cosponsored by Colombia, Ecuador, Jamaica, Japan, Liberia, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Netherlands, Pakistan, Somalia, Togo, and Turkey and was adopted by a vote of 72 (U.S.) to 0, with 12 abstentions.

On November 15 the Sixth Committee increased the membership to 16 and unanimously approved the composition proposed by the chairman.<sup>1</sup> In establishing the working group, the Sixth Committee requested the Secretary-General to prepare a document listing all the suggestions made by member states and the Secretary-General in relation to the question of existing or possible improved methods of fact-finding.

When the working group convened on November 17 under the chairmanship of Ambassador El-Erian of the U.A.R. and the vice-chairmanship of

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<sup>1</sup>Members of the working group were: Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Finland, France, Jamaica, Japan, Lebanon, Liberia, the Netherlands, Somalia, Togo, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States.

L. B. Francis of Jamaica, it had a great variety of suggestions and comments to consider. These included:

(1) a detailed Netherlands proposal to establish a permanent fact-finding organ to supplement existing institutions;

(2) a Cameroonian proposal to establish a special body reporting to the Security Council;

(3) Ceylonese and Finnish proposals that the Secretary-General maintain a panel of experts, nominated by member states, to be available on an *ad hoc* basis to parties to disputes;

(4) a Japanese suggestion to strengthen the U.N. fact-finding capacity by stationing U.N. representatives permanently in various areas of the world;

(5) a Nigerian proposal to establish a special section in the U.N. Secretariat to advise and help any *ad hoc* fact-finding body created from time to time;

(6) a U.K. suggestion to make greater use of the facilities provided by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague; and

(7) U.S. suggestions to consider revitalizing the U.N. Panel for Inquiry and Conciliation and to make greater use of rapporteurs and conciliators in cases before the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Among the written comments from members were those of the U.S.S.R. which questioned the need for and the legality of establishing a permanent fact-finding body, maintaining that "fuller use should be made of the possibilities which already exist. . . ."

The working group held seven meetings. Its discussions concentrated on three widely differing working papers submitted by Czechoslovakia, Finland, and the Netherlands.

The Finnish paper outlined the features of a register of experts available for fact-finding service to be maintained by the Secretary-General on the basis of nominations by member states.

The Netherlands working paper did not include its previous suggestion for a new permanent organ, in view of the improbability of securing a consensus favorable to it in the working group and the Sixth Committee. Instead, the Netherlands proposed a draft resolution reaffirming the importance of impartial fact-finding not only in the settlement, but also in the prevention of disputes. This draft reflected suggestions made by various members including the United States, for strengthening existing methods and improving the potential of existing institutions.

The Czechoslovak working paper, also in the form of a draft resolution, proposed to invite states to take into consideration, "whenever it appears indispensable, . . . the possibility to entrust the ascertaining of facts" to competent existing international organizations or *ad hoc* bodies, "without prejudice to the right to seek other peaceful means of settlement of their own choice." The draft also drew attention to the fact that, whenever article 33 methods of peaceful settlement are being applied, "in every concrete case, recourse should be made according to the possibility, if it appears appropriate, to investigation for fact-finding in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations."

## U.S. Position

The U.S. member in the working group strongly supported the Netherlands working paper, which also made provision for the Finnish proposal, and opposed the Czechoslovak approach for its lack of clarity, its failure to propose measures to improve the international community's impartial fact-finding resources, and its unwillingness to appeal for greater use of specific fact-finding mechanisms that had received substantial endorsement outside the Soviet bloc. He also pointed out that the already

existing Panel on Inquiry and Conciliation was structured so that it could permit the submission of the factual portion of a dispute without engaging the conciliation mechanism if this were desired by the parties. The Panel, he said, deserved to be revitalized by a reminder to members of this possibility and by a call for current nominations.

A compromise draft resolution was agreed upon at the last moment by the working group and sponsored in the Sixth Committee by all the working group members except Ceylon, France, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., and the United States. Commenting upon the draft resolution and the process that had produced it, the U.S. member regretted that many constructive suggestions had been omitted although their wisdom had not been questioned in the debate preceding the working group consideration. The United States would, however, vote for the resolution for three reasons:

(1) its respect for the tradition of compromise and consensus;

(2) its approval of the progressive declaration of principle that the draft contained, and the United States wish to see it implemented; and

(3) the U.S. view that the resolution represented a high-water mark in the attitude of some governments toward the use of impartial third-party methods in the peaceful settlement of disputes.

## Assembly Action

The Sixth Committee on December 13 and the General Assembly on December 18 unanimously adopted the compromise resolution. The preamble, *inter alia*, recognizes the usefulness, in preventing and settling disputes, of impartial fact-finding, both within the framework of international organizations and in bilateral and multilateral conventions or other appropriate arrangements. In its operative paragraphs the resolution urges member states to make more effective use of existing methods of fact-finding; invites them, in choosing means for the peaceful settlement of disputes, to consider the possibility of entrusting the ascertainment of facts to competent international organizations and bodies established by agreement between the parties concerned; draws special attention to the possibility of recourse by states, where appropriate, to fact-finding procedures in accordance with article 33 of the U.N. Charter; requests the Secretary-General to prepare a register of experts in legal and other fields whose services the states parties to a dispute may use by agreement for fact-finding in relation to the dispute; and requests member states to nominate up to five of their nationals to be included in such a register.

## Assistance in International Law

The 22d General Assembly reviewed the first year of U.N. activities under its "Program of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law" and approved the proposed activities for 1968.

In the U.S. view the purpose of the program is to contribute to the under-

standing of international law and to the training of lawyers, especially in the developing countries, so that they will be able to advise their governments on international legal problems both with competence and with a concern for the strengthening of international law. It is hoped that the program will not only encourage further

private and government efforts in this field, but will also complement the existing programs with activities particularly suited to multilateral effort.

## 1967 Program

In his report to the Assembly on the 1967 program the Secretary-General described four major activities.

(1) In cooperation with UNESCO and UNITAR the Secretariat held a regional training and refresher course in Tanzania from August 14 to September 9. Twenty-six persons from 20 African states attended. An international faculty, including Prof. Herbert Briggs of Cornell University, lectured on the law of treaties, diplomatic relations and immunities, international economic and social law, and normative action in the U.N. system and its place in current international law teaching.

(2) Ten international law fellowships were awarded to government officials and university law teachers from developing countries for a program that included lectures and seminars at the summer session of The Hague Academy of International Law and a period of practical training in the legal offices of the United Nations and other organizations in the U.N. system.

(3) Sets of U.N. legal publications were given to 15 institutions in developing countries.

(4) The U.N. Secretariat compiled and issued a register of experts and scholars in international law which interested governments may use in seeking qualified persons to engage for tasks in this field.

The 21st General Assembly authorized the Secretary-General to provide "advisory services of experts" if requested by developing countries within the framework of existing technical assistance programs. The Secretary-General noted that 25 requests—over twice as many as for 1965–66—

had been received for assistance during 1967–68 in such fields as international treaties, taxation treaties, maritime safety law, and air law.

The Secretary-General also described a number of steps taken to publicize international law and the U.N. legal work. These included publication of a book, *The Work of the International Law Commission*, two articles in the *UN Monthly Chronicle*, and a document, "Resolutions of Legal Interest Adopted by the General Assembly at its Twenty-First Session."

## Advisory Committee

The United States is a member of the 10-nation Advisory Committee established to advise the Secretary-General on the substance of this program. The Advisory Committee met several times during 1967 and formulated recommendations that will provide for a continuing modest program, despite a lack of significant voluntary contributions, and will apply to the international law program the financial rules and procedures of the U.N. technical assistance programs.

## General Assembly Action

On November 27 Ambassador Robert S. Benjamin expressed in the Sixth Committee U.S. gratification at the successful completion of the first year of activities. He noted that the program's modest size was no cause for criticism since it existed in a broader context of governmental, academic, and organizational activities whose purposes were identical with and responsive to the U.N. program. On the whole, he affirmed, the U.N. program of issuing and distributing publications and providing fellowships was a proper supplement to national and private efforts. He stressed the importance of restricting



the program to activities appropriate for multilateral effort and maintaining the technical and nonpolitical nature of the program.

The United States supported a resolution adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 14 which authorized the Secretary-General to carry out in 1968 the activities proposed in his report, and in particular the provision of (1) 15 international law fellowships at the request of governments of developing countries; (2) advisory services of experts, if requested by developing countries, within the framework of

existing technical assistance programs or from such voluntary contributions as may be received for that purpose; and (3) a set of U.N. legal publications to up to 20 institutions in developing countries. The resolution expressed the Assembly's thanks to the Government of Ecuador for its offer to host the regional seminar that will be conducted by UNITAR and held in Latin America during 1968. The resolution also reiterated the Assembly's invitation to member states, interested bodies, and individuals to make voluntary contributions toward the financing of the program.

# Declaration on Territorial Asylum

The General Assembly marked the completion of several years of work when it unanimously adopted on December 14 a "Declaration on Territorial Asylum." Although the Declaration does not create binding legal obligations, it may significantly contribute to the development of international law and practice in this vital area of human rights protection.

## Background

A "Draft Declaration on the Right of Asylum," prepared by the Commission on Human Rights in 1960, had been examined in 1962 by the General Assembly's Third Committee, which adopted a preamble and first article. In 1965, because of the Third Committee's heavy work load which delayed further consideration and the legal issues involved in the item, the General Assembly allocated the Draft Declaration to its Sixth Committee, invited member states which had not yet done so to submit com-

ments, and decided to take it up at its 21st session "with a view to completing the text of the Draft Declaration as a whole."

The Sixth Committee fulfilled its mandate by completing a text of the Draft Declaration consisting of a preamble and four articles during the 21st General Assembly. Since it was already late in the session, however, this text was discussed only briefly. The Sixth Committee and the plenary unanimously adopted a resolution which transmitted the text to U.N. members for their consideration and placed the item on the agenda of the 22d General Assembly.

After extensive debate the 22d General Assembly adopted the text unchanged.

## Final Provisions

The Declaration refers in its preamble to article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which, in addition to declaring that every-

one has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution, provides that this right "may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations." Also mentioned in the preamble is paragraph 2 of article 13 of the Universal Declaration which states the right of everyone "to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." The inclusion of this particular reference was unsuccessfully attacked by the Eastern European states during both the 21st and 22d sessions of the General Assembly. Further, the preamble recognizes "that the grant of asylum by a state to persons entitled to invoke article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a peaceful and humanitarian act and that, as such, it cannot be regarded as unfriendly by any other state."

Article 1 of the Declaration provides that if a state grants territorial asylum to persons entitled to invoke the terms of article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including persons struggling against colonialism, such a grant shall be respected by all other states. It further provides that the state granting asylum has the authority to evaluate the grounds for such a grant and that the right to seek and to enjoy asylum may not be invoked by any person if there are sound grounds for considering that he has committed "a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity" as defined in pertinent international instruments.

The phrase "including persons struggling against colonialism" was controversial during both the 21st and 22d sessions. Uruguay proposed an amendment deleting the phrase during the 21st session that was supported by a number of representatives. It was argued that such a reference introduced a contentious political element into what should be a generally acceptable text, that it was unnecessary since such persons were within

the ambit of article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and that it would be without any interest in the future since the colonial era was virtually ended. The United States favored the deletion of the phrase, but suggested that if it were to be retained it should be appropriately worded and placed in the preamble. Though no formal amendment was proposed at the 22d session, there was substantial criticism of the phrase.

Article 2 of the Declaration states that the situation of persons entitled to invoke article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a matter of concern to the international community. It provides that where a state has difficulty in granting or continuing to grant asylum other states—individually, jointly, or through the United Nations—shall consider appropriate measures to lighten that state's burden. Though the U.S.S.R. and others contended that this provision might be interpreted to permit others to infringe upon the sovereignty of the state granting asylum, the great majority of the members, including the United States, supported its retention on the grounds that it provided for the burdensome case of mass influx of persons seeking asylum, reflected provisions contained in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, and, in light of the provision of paragraph 1 of article 2 expressly reaffirming state sovereignty, was not subject to the criticism advanced against it.

Article 3 of the Declaration, which many representatives characterized as the key provision, states the principle that a state shall not reject at the frontier a person seeking asylum or expel or compulsorily return him to any state where he may be subjected to persecution. Exception may be made to this principle only for overriding reasons of national security or to safeguard the receiving state's population, as in the case of a mass influx of persons. If a state decides, in an individual case, to invoke this exception, it shall consider the possibility of

granting the person concerned an opportunity, through provisional asylum or other means, of going to another state. The somewhat vague wording of the exception was criticized by many, including the United States, who expressed their understanding that the exception was properly understood to be a narrow one, limited to cases comparable in seriousness to a mass influx of persons.

Article 4 of the Declaration provides that states granting asylum

should not permit persons who have received asylum to engage in activities contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. Some delegations feared this provision might be invoked to justify unnecessary restrictions on the liberty of persons enjoying asylum and placed on record their understanding that the article did not call for such restrictions of individual liberty. The United States took no exception to that stated understanding.

## Question of Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities

The initiative for consideration of diplomatic privileges and immunities came from the Secretary-General. On September 20 he requested the inscription of an item entitled: "The situation which has arisen between Guinea and the Ivory Coast involving section 11 of the Convention on Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations."

The reason for the request, as he subsequently confirmed, was the detention in the Ivory Coast of Guinea's Foreign Minister and its Permanent Representative to the United Nations. The two officials had been en route home from the fifth emergency special session of the General Assembly when their aircraft had had to make an unscheduled landing in Abidjan. At the time, a number of Ivory Coast nationals and residents were being held in Guinea and the Ivoirian action was taken in retaliation.

Shortly after the Secretary-General made known his intention to request inscription of a "privileges and immunities" item, all detainees in both countries were released. The Secretary-General still felt, however, that the General Assembly should consider

the question of principle and might find it timely to reaffirm the provisions of article 105 of the U.N. Charter and section 11 of the 1946 Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.

Considerable effort was expended in arriving at an agreed title of the topic for inscription which would be satisfactory to the two African countries initially concerned, to the Secretary-General, and to other delegations who saw in the item an opportunity to advance their own causes. Among the latter were several primarily interested in seeking to embarrass the United States over its record as host to the United Nations. Although the United States was willing to consider this matter, it also wished to discuss the general deterioration in standards of treatment of diplomatic officials and installations in many parts of the world. The formula finally adopted represented an all-inclusive compromise:

Question of diplomatic privileges and immunities:

- (a) Measures tending to implement the privileges and immunities of representatives of Member States

to the principal and subsidiary organs of the United Nations and to conferences convened by the United Nations and the privileges and immunities of the staff and of the Organization itself, as well as the obligations of States concerning the protection of diplomatic personnel and property;

- (b) Reaffirmation of an important immunity of representatives of Member States to the principal and subsidiary organs of the United Nations and to conferences convened by the United Nations.

The U.S. interest is reflected in that part of paragraph (a) of the item that refers to "the obligations of States concerning the protection of diplomatic personnel and property."

The Sixth Committee devoted eight meetings to the item. Exchanges between the representatives of Guinea and the Ivory Coast, which had been foreshadowed by similar exchanges during General Committee and plenary consideration of inscription of the item, did not prevent serious debate on the broader aspects of the subject and the almost unanimous adoption of a nonpolemical resolution.

On November 30 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Robert S. Benjamin, addressing himself primarily to subpart (a) of the item, underlined the importance of an effective system of diplomatic privileges and immunities, but noted that

... events in recent years may cause us all to wonder whether this fundamental importance is sufficiently impressed on our collective consciousness.

... I do not refer only to minor annoyances or unavoidable if unfortunate situations in which local authorities, despite their best efforts, have been unable to prevent unpleasantness, inconvenience, or on some occasions injury to person or property. These instances would be bad enough and we must all continue and redouble our efforts to avoid them. I refer rather to the fact that diplomats have been stoned and mobbed. They have been kicked and trampled. Diplomats and members of diplomatic missions have been abducted and incarcerated. Diplomatic premises have been damaged, ransacked, and even burned to the ground. Representatives of governments entitled to attend meetings of international organizations have been

refused entry into the so-called "host" country for political reasons.

... Most profoundly disturbing of all is the fact that some of these incidents evidence deliberate decisions by governments, ranging from tacit acquiescence all the way to the conscious use of violations of diplomatic status as an instrument of national policy.

The U.S. Representative appealed for an expression of concern by the United Nations at these departures from recognized standards and urged it to seek such action by states as is necessary to ensure the ability to exercise at all times legitimate diplomatic functions. He warned that although keeping the machinery of international affairs "in working order does not *ipso facto* guarantee friendly relations and cooperation among states, or even nonviolent relations . . . allowing it to fall into disrepair through neglect or deliberate abuse will all but guarantee failure in our common endeavors toward these goals."

During the debate, much concern was expressed over the fact that not all member states had yet adhered to international agreements on the subject, in particular the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations. As host country to the United Nations, U.S. failure to ratify this convention received particular critical attention and comment from some delegates.

On December 6 the U.N. Legal Counsel, Constantin Stavropoulos, as the Secretary-General's representative in the Sixth Committee, made a statement on the privileges and immunities of representatives of member states under the relevant conventions and general international law. In concluding his statement Mr. Stavropoulos submitted:

... first, that the obligations of member states under the Convention [on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations], including those affecting representatives of other members, are obligations to the Organization, and the Secretary-General has an interest and a role in their protection and observance.

Secondly, that the privileges and immunities which we have been discussing

are obligatory for all member states whether or not they have acceded to the Convention. Article 105 [of the U.N. Charter] creates a direct obligation on all members to accord the privileges and immunities necessary for the fulfillment of the purposes of the Organization and the exercise of the functions of representatives and officials. Certain of the privileges and immunities which the General Assembly has deemed to be necessary in all member states are defined in the Convention whose standards and principles have been so widely accepted as to become a part of the general international law governing the relations between states and the United Nations.

I hasten to add that this should not be a reason for any state's delaying further its accession to the Convention, since the Convention, with such implementing legislation as may be necessary, provides the best method for the fulfillment and implementation on the domestic level of the international obligations of members under the Charter and under general international law.

Three draft resolutions were placed before the Sixth Committee for its consideration. Two of the proposals, considered by some as partial to one or the other party to the dispute between Guinea and the Ivory Coast, were not put to a vote by their co-sponsors so that a third, cosponsored by 16 countries and considered objective, might be given prior consideration. Separate votes were taken on two of the five operative paragraphs of this draft. One, adopted by a vote of 84 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 abstentions,

urged member states to accede to the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations. The other, adopted by a vote of 83 (U.S.) to 2, with 2 abstentions, urged states, whether or not parties to the Convention, to secure the implementation of the privileges and immunities accorded under article 105 of the U.N. Charter.

The resolution as a whole was adopted by the Sixth Committee by a vote of 88 to 0, with 1 abstention (Colombia), and approved in plenary on December 18 by a vote of 101 to 0, with 1 abstention (Colombia). In addition to the two paragraphs described above, the resolution:

(1) deplored all departures from the rules of international law governing diplomatic privileges and immunities and privileges and immunities of the Organization;

(2) urged states to ratify or accede to the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961; and

(3) urged states, whether or not parties to the Vienna Convention, to take every measure necessary to secure the implementation of the rules of international law governing diplomatic relations and, in particular, to protect diplomatic missions and to enable diplomatic agents to fulfill their tasks in conformity with international law.

## Definition of Aggression

The 22d General Assembly established a Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression "to consider all aspects of the question in order that an adequate definition of aggression may be prepared and to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session a report which will reflect all the views expressed and the proposals made." This mandate

differs from that of an earlier committee established by the 12th General Assembly in 1957 which was set up for the purpose of "determining when it shall be appropriate for the General Assembly to consider again the question of defining aggression, and . . . [reporting] to the Secretary-General when it has determined that the time is appropriate. . . ."

Although the Committee established by the 12th General Assembly had not determined that the time was appropriate, the Soviet Foreign Minister on September 22 requested the inscription on the 22d Assembly's agenda of an item entitled: "Need to expedite the drafting of a definition of aggression in the light of the present international situation."

## General Committee

The Assembly's General Committee considered the Soviet request on September 25 and 26 and debated at length whether the item should be allocated to the First (Political and Security) Committee or the Sixth (Legal) Committee. The U.S.S.R. insisted that the item was political since the definition was to be drafted "in the light of the present international situation" which implied an analysis of current political factors and was therefore the task of the First Committee. The United States maintained, however, that the item should be considered by the Sixth Committee which was responsible for detailed consideration of technical legal questions and had the necessary expertise in international law to draw up the definition of aggression. On September 26 the General Committee decided by a vote of 13 (U.S.) to 5, with 5 abstentions, to recommend the allocation of the item to the Sixth Committee.

When the General Committee's report came before the plenary on September 28 the Soviet Union again raised the question of the allocation of the item and requested its consideration by the First Committee. The Algerian Representative then proposed an amendment to the General Committee's report which would provide for the item's initial consideration in plenary "so that all questions—legal, political, or any other matter—can be invoked without any let or hindrance." After the plenary

debate the question would be considered in the Sixth Committee. This amendment was adopted by a vote of 49 to 37 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions.

## Plenary Debate

When the plenary took up this item on November 28 it had before it a draft resolution introduced by the U.S.S.R. This draft would have had the Assembly, *inter alia*, express its deep concern "over the acts of aggression which have recently been taking place in various regions of the world"; state its firm conviction that "a precise definition of aggression would have considerable importance for the maintenance of international peace and the adoption of effective measures for preventing such acts as armed attack by one state against another, invasion of the territory of one state by the armed forces of another state and the seizure or occupation of the territory of one state by the armed forces of another state"; consider "it necessary for aggression to be defined as soon as possible"; and establish a special committee to draw up a draft definition of aggression and submit it to the General Assembly at its 23d session. This draft was characterized by the U.K. Representative as another in the series of annual propaganda proposals that the Soviet Union placed before the Assembly.

Replying to charges by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Kuznetsov that the United States was committing aggression in Viet-Nam, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Goldberg, on November 28 challenged Mr. Kuznetsov to demonstrate Soviet willingness to accept a U.N. determination of who is the aggressor in Viet-Nam by stepping "down the hall with me to the Security Council which under the Charter has responsibility for making such a judgment." Regarding the Soviet claim that a definition of aggression would be an effective damper on

aggressive plans, Ambassador Goldberg said:

... I call attention to the fact that the Soviet Union is still committed to the theory and practice of the so-called "war of national liberation"—which, in plain words, is an act of aggression of which the Soviet Union happens to approve. Under this theory, propounded at various international and "tricontinental" conferences with Soviet backing, it is perfectly all right to stage an armed uprising, and to support it from without, provided first that the government which is the victim of this uprising has been officially branded in communist doctrine as "colonial" and therefore standing in need of "liberation." This designation apparently, in Soviet theory, removes from the attacked country any right to be protected from aggression.

What, then, becomes of definitions? The Soviet Union, the great definer, seems to be talking in tones very much like those of Humpty Dumpty who explained to the puzzled Alice in Wonderland: "When I use a word, it means just what I want it to mean—neither more nor less. The question is, who is to be the stronger—that's all."

## Sixth Committee

After eight plenary meetings, during which representatives of 38 countries spoke, the item was sent to the Sixth Committee for consideration. There the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Benjamin, on December 7 explained U.S. views on the constitutional and practical aspects of the matter. He noted that since the first purpose of the U.N. Charter is to maintain international peace and security the concept of "aggression" is important. He stressed, however, that its juridical importance should not be overemphasized.

... it is useful to bear in mind that the Charter could probably have been written without it, with no consequential legal effect on the obligations of United Nations membership. The experience of the Security Council in this regard is instructive: The Council does not have to find an act of aggression before taking certain measures to maintain peace. In fact, the Council has often determined that branding a state as an "aggressor" was less important than taking practical steps

to contain violence—such as establishing a cease-fire or in other ways endeavoring to get the processes of peaceful settlement going. It is a matter for the Council to judge whether its task is made easier by superimposing a condemnation on its practical efforts to restore peace. At any rate, whatever legal importance is to be attributed to the concept of aggression, it results from the fact that under the Charter, as we all know, when the elementary rules are violated to the point of constituting an "act of aggression" (or a threat to or breach of the peace) the procedures of collective security are invoked. And it is for the Security Council—the organ of collective security—to determine when any of these points has been reached.

Ambassador Benjamin went on to explain why the United States "opposed diverting any portion of the energies of the United Nations . . . to elaborating a definition of aggression." The problem, he said, is not one

... which we can expect to solve by declarations of the Assembly as to what the word "aggression" means. For the sad fact is that transgressors of the charter have not transgressed because of mistakes of interpretation, or from any good faith conviction that the drafters had somehow left a loophole for the commission of this or that particular kind of misdeed. They have acted as they did because they were basically unwilling to allow the provisions of the Charter to stand in the way of national objectives, a failure of basic commitment to the rule of law in international life. We have all signed and ratified the Charter and we know well enough what promises we made thereby; but not all of us are always willing to do what we have promised. . . .

He concluded that the job was not to embellish the "clear and simple" rules of the Charter, but "to develop the political will in all states to respect them, even when it hurts, and to resort in good faith to the common procedures which the Charter lays down for suppressing their violation."

Amendments to the Soviet draft resolution were submitted by the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom in the Sixth Committee. These amendments would have

(1) added a new preambular paragraph stating the Assembly's earnest

desire to maintain the integrity of the U.N. Charter and make more effective its collective security system;

(2) reworded a preambular paragraph (a) to eliminate the flat assertion that a definition would give important help in maintaining international peace, and (b) to add to the list of condemned acts "all other forms of such use of force by one state against another, whether overt or covert or direct or indirect";

(3) replaced a Soviet preambular expression of regret over the absence of a definition of aggression with an expression of conviction "that the primary problem confronting the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace remains the strengthening of the will of states to respect Charter obligations already clearly understood";

(4) deferred the question of establishing a new special committee; and

(5) called upon states to reaffirm their commitment to respect the U.N. Charter.

These amendments were not put to a vote.

After several attempts to reach an accommodation, a draft resolution was submitted by 24 African and Asian states, Romania, and Yugoslavia. This draft reflected in its preambular paragraphs some movement toward accommodation of the position reflected in the amendments to the original Soviet text that had been proposed by Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The incomplete list of prohibited acts of force in the Soviet draft had been dropped, the judgment in the Soviet preamble that a definition would be an important contribution to maintaining international peace and security had been replaced by a statement that there was a widespread conviction that a definition would have considerable importance in that respect, the expression of regret over the lack of a definition had been changed to

noting the lack of one, and a statement had been included expressing a conviction "that a primary problem confronting the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace remains the strengthening of the will of States to respect all obligations under the Charter." However, the resolution established a Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression and gave it a mandate to "consider all aspects of the question so that an adequate definition of aggression may be prepared and to submit to the General Assembly at its twenty-third session a report which will reflect all the views expressed and the proposals made."

The Sixth Committee adopted an Indian proposal to vote first on this latest draft resolution. Following separate votes on the first three operative paragraphs, at the request of New Zealand and Australia, the Sixth Committee adopted the resolution as a whole by a vote of 68 to 0, with 19 (U.S.) abstentions.

## Assembly Action

The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on December 18 by a vote of 90 to 1, with 18 (U.S.) abstentions, after being amended to increase the number of members on the Special Committee from 30 to 35.

Speaking in explanation of vote in the General Assembly, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Benjamin, noted that the United States had been prepared to vote favorably upon a variety of proposals that would have taken the procedural step of establishing a Committee with reasonable and realistic terms of reference without touching upon points of principle. Though the resolution finally brought to a vote was a marked improvement over earlier draft resolutions, he pointed out that the mandate of the Special Committee was too loosely drafted to ensure the necessary careful



and responsible approach to the problem. However, in light of interpretations given by many delegations to the paragraph in question, Ambassador Benjamin informed the Assembly that the United States was prepared to

participate constructively in the efforts of the Special Committee to provide "a careful and workman-like examination of all the complex and profound aspects of the question of a definition of aggression."

## U.N. Commission on International Trade Law

The 21st General Assembly created the U.N. Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) in 1966 to promote the progressive harmonization and unification of private law respecting international trade.

On October 30, 1967, the 22d General Assembly elected 29 states to UNCITRAL. Chile, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, Ghana, Italy, Japan, Nigeria, Norway, Tanzania, Thailand, U.A.R., the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R. were selected by lot to serve 3-year terms. Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Congo (Kinshasa),

Hungary, India, Iran, Kenya, Mexico, Romania, Spain, Syria, Tunisia, and the United States will serve 6-year terms.

The agenda for UNCITRAL's first session, scheduled for January 1968, included such organizational tasks as adoption of rules of procedure, selection of topics and priorities for a work program, organization of work and methods, and establishment of relationships and collaboration with other bodies working in the field of private international trade law.

*Budgetary,  
Financial, and  
Administrative  
Matters*

*Part Five*

# United Nations Budget

On October 18 the Secretary-General presented his initial U.N. budget estimates for the calendar year 1968 to the General Assembly's Fifth Committee. His estimates called for gross expenditures of \$141.6 million. The Secretary-General informed the Committee that the amounts requested were limited to what he believed were essential requirements. He said that he had tried to keep requests for additional staff resources and other credits to a minimum and had tried to assure himself that present staff was being effectively utilized for activities of a truly priority nature.

Quoting from the introduction to his annual report, the Secretary-General described the current financial situation of the United Nations as one of "gradual but steady deterioration." If this trend is to be arrested, he said, "fresh and determined efforts will be needed to liquidate the legacy of past peacekeeping indebtedness; to devise ways and means whereby future operations involving relatively large expenditures by United Nations standards are financed on a firmer and more reliable basis than in the past; and to reach accommodations that will arrest the regular budgetary shortfall and thereafter safeguard the

integrity of the Organization as an expression of collective financial responsibility."

Following the Secretary-General's address to the Fifth Committee, the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions (ACABQ) discussed the Advisory Committee's recommendations on the 1968 U.N. budget. The ACABQ had recommended that the General Assembly approve gross expenditures of \$136.0 million, or \$5.6 million less than the amount proposed by the Secretary-General. This was the largest cut in a U.N. budget ever recommended by the ACABQ.

On November 2 Congressman William S. Broomfield presented the U.S. position on the 1968 budget. He supported the reductions of \$5.6 million recommended by the ACABQ and expressed the view that some of the items could well have been eliminated before the budget had been submitted to the ACABQ. He said that there were other areas in which the United States hoped that further reductions would be feasible and singled out for particular attention the problem of proliferation of conferences and documentation. He stated that great savings could be effected through elimination of sum-

## Procedure for Budget Planning Estimate

mary records of meetings of U.N. subsidiary bodies. He also supported the ACABQ recommendations to reduce the number of new positions which the Secretary-General had requested for the Secretariat. In addition, he drew attention to the problems arising from decisions of U.N. subsidiary bodies which involve expenditures not previously authorized by the General Assembly, and from the excessive use of the "unforeseen and extraordinary expenses" procedure. He said that the United States believed that the ACABQ should be asked to provide guidance on these questions.

Representatives of 60 other member states made statements in the Fifth Committee on the 1968 budget. During the course of the debate, the Secretary-General submitted additional requests of \$4.9 million, which brought his total estimates to \$146.5 million. The ACABQ recommended that these additional requests be reduced by \$0.4 million, bringing the total recommended reductions of the ACABQ to \$6.0 million.

On December 19 the General Assembly approved the reductions recommended by the ACABQ and adopted a gross expenditure budget for 1968 in the amount of \$140,430,950. The vote was 102 (U.S.) to 1, with 14 abstentions. This budget represented an increase of \$10.1 million over the 1967 budget. The increase is mainly attributable to normal salary, cost of living, and price increases; expansion of economic and social development activities, including UNIDO; strengthening of the UNTSO; the Middle East mission of the Secretary-General's Special Representative (see p. 48); and increased costs for meetings and conferences, including the Second UNCTAD.

After deducting credits due for U.N. bond repayments and interest, the U.S. share of the total assessments against members for 1968 was \$37,180,529.

The United States, together with France, the United Kingdom, and the U.S.S.R., sponsored a draft resolution at the 22d General Assembly designed to improve U.N. budgetary procedures. This resolution provided that each regular session of the General Assembly approve a "planning estimate" for the U.N. regular budget to guide the Secretary-General in constructing his budget estimates. This proposed procedure would depart from existing U.N. practice under which the Secretary-General prepares his annual budget proposals without advance guidance from the General Assembly.

In introducing the planning-estimate resolution in the Fifth Committee on November 21, the U.S. Representative, Congressman William S. Broomfield, recalled that the Secretary-General, in his foreword to the 1968 budget estimates, had called attention to the fundamental problem of reconciling the total work program of the United Nations and the total resources which member states were prepared to make available for its implementation. The Secretary-General had asked for guidance from the General Assembly on this question. In addition a U.N. expert committee, the Committee of 14, had recommended that bodies responsible for examining budgets of international organizations should have an opportunity to consider preliminary estimates before budgets were formally drawn up by the executive heads. The four-power draft resolution was responsive to this recommendation.

Congressman Broomfield went on to explain that the United States, together with many other members, had a growing interest in improving the budgetary procedures of the United Nations and the specialized agencies.

He pointed out that if the United Nations was to carry out effectively the tasks entrusted to it, it must pay more attention to sound management and orderly development, and that it was essential that greater efficiency and full value be achieved for every unit of resources expended. The new approach to budget procedures which the United States was advocating was designed to strengthen efforts toward improved management being undertaken by all groups in the United Nations.

Noting that no nation has been more openhanded in support of the United Nations and other international organizations, the U.S. Representative recalled that the United States was the largest financial contributor to both the assessed and voluntary programs of the U.N. family of agencies, having contributed \$3 billion or 45 percent of total costs of all these programs to date. He also reminded the other delegates that President Johnson, in a memorandum to the Secretary of State of March 15, 1966, had said that the United States would continue to meet its fair share of the financial requirements of international organizations. However, the President had also insisted that the United States apply to them the same rigorous standards of program performance and budget review that it applied to its domestic programs. Congressman Broomfield stressed that if the necessary support from parliaments and taxpayers is to be continued, "it is essential that we recognize the several aspects of better planning and get the maximum use from resources."

Under the four-power draft resolution, the Secretary-General would suggest to each regular session of the General Assembly a planning estimate for the U.N. regular budget for the second succeeding budgetary period. Before reaching the General Assembly the figure would be reviewed by the ACABQ. The General Assembly would then consider the planning esti-

mate together with the recommendations of the ACABQ and at the same session approve a planning estimate for the period in question. The Secretary-General would be guided by the approved planning estimate in constructing the regular budget estimates for that period, and the organs of the United Nations would be requested to cooperate with the Secretary-General and to be guided by the planning estimate. The draft resolution provided that the procedure would first come into effect for the calendar year 1970 budget.

Summing up the advantages of the new procedure, the U.S. Representative explained that (1) the Secretary-General would be asked to think further ahead about the budget for a given year; (2) the General Assembly would give him the guidance he has requested on the general magnitude of the budget that members were prepared to support; and (3) the planning estimate would reinforce the Secretary-General's hand in building a budget that successfully balanced the different programs and priorities decided upon by the U.N. program-planning bodies.

Discussions in the Fifth Committee and consultations among member states revealed differences of opinion on the approach recommended in the four-power draft. While some delegations supported it, others, particularly those from developing countries, expressed concern that the proposal would adversely affect the activities of the organization and might in fact lead to their curtailment to the detriment of development activities. Many expressed fear that the procedure would lead to imposition of a ceiling on the budget. It was suggested that a better approach would be through implementation of other recommendations of the Committee of 14 dealing with long-term planning, coordination, and evaluation.

On December 15 the U.S. Representative introduced, on behalf of the

## U.N. Bonds

cosponsors, a revised text of the four-power draft resolution. He explained that the amended text contained changes to accommodate the views of the developing countries and reiterated that the cosponsors did not view the procedure as one that would impose a budget ceiling or set a fixed rate of growth. The revised draft resolution contained a new operative paragraph which invited the U.N. program-formulating bodies to develop their own processes to carry out at the earliest possible date a system of long-term planning and program formulation. Another insertion provided that the Secretary-General should take into account all the actions of program-formulating bodies in suggesting a planning estimate for the consideration of the General Assembly. Under a further revision, the planning-estimate procedure would first be applied to the U.N. budget for the calendar year 1971 instead of 1970, thus giving the Secretary-General and the program-formulating bodies more time to prepare for the procedure to become operative.

On December 18 the Tanzanian Representative described the four-power draft as "dangerous" on the ground that it would limit the total financial resources available to the United Nations and would disappoint the hopes of the developing countries. He thereupon submitted a series of amendments, many of which would have materially changed the character of the resolution. In negotiations between the cosponsors and Afro-Asian countries, a few of the suggested revisions that did not alter the basic thrust of the resolution were accepted. The draft resolution as amended was adopted later the same day by a vote of 84 to 0, with 2 abstentions (Afghanistan and Tanzania). On December 19 the resolution was adopted in plenary session of the General Assembly by a vote of 114 to 0, with 1 abstention.

Although the method of repayment of U.N. bonds had been a major issue at the 21st General Assembly in 1966, only a few members referred to this matter at the 22d session.

At the 1966 Assembly Argentina, Brazil, India, and Nigeria had introduced a draft resolution which would have removed the expense of bond repayment from the regular budget and established a separate account for bond amortization and interest to be financed by a special scale of contributions. The proponents of this proposal had argued that since the General Assembly had approved special scales for financing peacekeeping operations, the repayment of the U.N. bonds, which had been used mainly to meet peacekeeping expenses in the Congo and the Middle East, should also be based on a special scale. The United States strongly opposed the draft resolution, pointing out that any decision to change the method of repayment of the bonds would be a major breach of faith and might seriously shake the confidence of member states. Together with other delegations holding similar views, the United States was successful in having consideration of the draft resolution postponed until the 22d General Assembly.

At the 22d General Assembly, the Nigerian Representative reiterated to the Fifth Committee his government's position that the assessment for payment of principal and interest on the U.N. bond issue should not be made on the basis of the regular scale of assessments, but stated that for a number of reasons, including the fact that the Fifth Committee still had before it a number of difficult problems, the sponsors of last year's resolution believed that it would not be opportune to pursue the issue at the 22d session. However, he served notice that the sponsors intended to request a vote on their draft resolution at the 23d Assembly in 1968.

# Implementation of Committee of 14 Report

The Fifth Committee of the 22d General Assembly considered the Secretary-General's report on the implementation of the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Experts to Examine the Finances of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies (Committee of 14). The 21st Assembly had unanimously approved these recommendations for major administrative and budgetary improvements in the U.N. family of organizations, and throughout 1967 U.S. representatives in various organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies took the initiative in urging their fullest possible implementation.

Congressman William S. Broomfield addressed the Fifth Committee on this question on October 13. He said that the U.S. delegation had been encouraged by reports on implementation of the Committee of 14 recommendations. He noted that agreement had been reached on ground rules for the proposed Inspection Unit, which was to have the broadest powers of investigation in all matters bearing on the efficiency of operations of the U.N. family of organizations, and that the Inspection Unit would begin operations in January 1968. The United States was also encouraged by the attention that ECOSOC and its Committee for Program and Coordination had given to the Committee of 14 proposals. Congressman Broomfield pointed out that many of the agencies had already endorsed, at least in a general way, the recommendations of the Committee of 14 and in some cases had already acted upon them. However, he believed that the progress report of the Secretary-General did not present a sufficiently clear picture on the

status of their implementation and lacked specific information on the position of the agencies on each proposal. The United States thought that the U.N. organizations should complete the program of reforms suggested by the Committee of 14 so that they could rapidly move on to other improvements. The U.S. Representative therefore suggested that the General Assembly adopt a resolution expressing the General Assembly's continuing interest in the Committee of 14 proposals and calling for a fuller report on their implementation.

Other Fifth Committee members expressed great interest in the extent to which the Committee of 14's recommendations had actually been carried out. Most delegations reiterated their support of the recommendations and their determination to have them put into full effect, and there was general agreement that the Secretary-General's report was not sufficiently detailed to give delegations a clear picture of the degree to which the individual agencies had considered the recommendations and were making efforts to implement them.

On October 27 the Fifth Committee unanimously approved a resolution which:

(1) noted that some of the recommendations of the Committee of 14 had been implemented by the United Nations and the specialized agencies and recognized that the Joint Inspection Unit should be brought into operation not later than January 1, 1968;

(2) reaffirmed the continuing concern of the General Assembly that rapid progress should be made in carrying out the recommendations;

(3) invited the Secretary-General to submit no later than April 30, 1968, a report giving fuller information on the implementation of each of the recommendations, indicating not only positions of the agencies and action taken to date, but also further action they propose to take and timing thereof;

(4) requested ECOSOC again to give full consideration to the recommendations; and

(5) decided that the General Assembly should again consider this question at its next session.

On December 19 the General Assembly unanimously adopted the resolution in plenary session.

## Conferences and Documentation

For a number of years the United Nations has been confronted with a major problem in seeking to control the rapid proliferation of conferences and the increasing volume of documentation. The two problems are, of course, closely related in that most of the documentation consists of material either prepared for consideration by representatives attending conferences or reporting on actions taken at conferences. Furthermore, if conferences are not properly spaced, preparation of documentation becomes too great a burden for the Secretariat. Concern over the increasing volume of documentation is not restricted to the problem of costs; representatives have repeatedly expressed their inability to digest the large mass of material involved.

### Conferences

In an attempt to deal with the problem of conferences, the 21st General Assembly established a 15-member Committee on Conferences to develop a calendar of meetings for the United Nations which would be submitted to the General Assembly for approval. The United States is a member of the Committee.

The Committee elected Brian J. Lynch of New Zealand as its chairman and held 10 meetings during the 22d General Assembly. In its report

the Committee suggested, in line with the view of the United States and others, "the establishment and application of a rigorous system of priorities, taking into account the various considerations that underlie proposals for new conferences and meetings." It also recognized "the potential utility" of devising a definition of a conference of major proportions in order to implement a 1965 General Assembly resolution which stipulated "that not more than one major special conference of the United Nations shall be scheduled in any one year." The U.S. Representative on the Committee suggested that such a definition could be based upon certain "lower limits" and that a conference which exceeded these limits in terms of costs, duration, and documentation required, would thereby be defined as a major conference. However, there was general agreement that the Committee was not yet in a position to recommend definitive criteria.

The Committee on Conferences was able to make only a few recommendations concerning the 1968 calendar of meetings since firm dates had already been set and arrangements were underway. The Committee believed, however, that during 1968 it could give detailed consideration to the calendar for the following year and that to fulfill its mandate it must meet prior to, as well as during, the regular General Assembly.



On December 19 the 22d General Assembly adopted a resolution which had been recommended by the Committee on Conferences and endorsed by the Fifth Committee. The resolution approved a 1968 calendar of meetings contained in the report of the Committee of Conferences; reaffirmed that any meeting, other than an emergency meeting, not covered by the basic program for a given year shall not be held during that year; requested U.N. organs and subsidiary bodies to review their calendar of meetings with a view to reducing total meeting time; and requested the Committee on Conferences to meet early in 1968 to examine the conference schedules for 1969 and 1970 and submit to the next General Assembly recommendations on the pattern of conferences for 1969, 1970, and 1971 and on the definition of the term "major special conference."

## Documentation

In an effort to resolve the publications and documentation problem, the 21st General Assembly had requested the Secretary-General to instruct the Publications Board (a U.N. Secretariat body) to make recommendations for the elimination, consolidation, or reduction of U.N. publications and documentation. The Board subsequently made a number of recommendations which the Secretary-

General reported to the Assembly. The recommendations suggested limitations on the length of summary records of meetings and conferences, elimination of summary records in bodies where they are not essential, restrictions on the use of verbatim records, and limitations on the number and length of reports of meetings and documents incorporated in annexes.

On November 22 the Fifth Committee unanimously adopted a resolution approving these recommendations. The resolution requested the Secretary-General (1) to prepare for the use of U.N. bodies a document setting forth the policies laid down by the General Assembly regarding the control and limitation of documentation, and (2) to ensure that no effort is spared within the Secretariat to carry out the recommendations contained in his report. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to harmonize the publications programs of the various organizations in the U.N. system and to report to the General Assembly, not later than its 24th session, on the implementation of the resolution.

On December 8 the resolution was adopted by the General Assembly without objection.

Throughout the discussions and deliberations, U.S. representatives employed their influence in behalf of efforts to limit documentation and strengthen the U.N. machinery for controlling it.

# U.N. Peacekeeping Operations

## U.N. Emergency Force

The Fifth Committee of the 22d General Assembly on December 11 considered the Secretary-General's report on revised UNEF cost estimates for 1967. The 21st Assembly

had originally appropriated \$14 million for UNEF operations during that year. However, UNEF's withdrawal from the Middle East in May 1967 resulted in certain savings, although these were offset to some extent by increased expenditures caused by the rapid withdrawal of UNEF, and the

need for indemnification of UNEF troops killed during the hostilities and replacement of equipment lost by national contingents. The Secretary-General informed the General Assembly that, based on the latest available information, the UNEF cost estimates for 1967 came to \$11.4 million or \$2.6 million less than the original appropriations.

On December 13 the 22d General Assembly, by a vote of 73 (U.S.) to 10, with 8 abstentions, approved a resolution which took note of the Secretary-General's revised cost estimates. The resolution also decided that in connection with any necessary UNEF expenditures after December 31, 1967, the Secretary-General, with the concurrence of the ACABQ, was authorized to use (1) any balance remaining as of December 31, 1967, in the UNEF account, and (2) the proceeds from the sales or other disposition of U.N.-owned property.

## U.N. Force in Cyprus

The U.N. peacekeeping force in Cyprus was established by the Security Council in March 1964 "to prevent a recurrence of fighting" on the

island and "to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order." The Security Council has periodically extended the life of UNFICYP. On December 22 the Council extended its mandate until March 26, 1968.

The costs of UNFICYP are met by governments providing troop contingents and by voluntary contributions. The Secretary-General estimated that the cash cost of maintaining the force in 1967 was \$19,865,000. This would mean that the total cost for the 45 months beginning March 27, 1964, and ending December 26, 1967, was \$79,295,000. Voluntary pledges for 1967 came to \$18,103,766, bringing the total pledges for the 45-month period to \$73,840,618 or \$5,454,382 less than total estimated requirements.

The United States pledged cash contributions of \$8.0 million toward the 1967 expenses of UNFICYP, approximately 40 percent of the total estimated costs. U.S. pledges for the 45 months total \$32.1 million. The United States has also provided air transport services valued at \$1,254,107 for the rotation of troops and equipment.

## Assessments

The U.S.-percentage shares of the assessment budgets of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA are listed below:

	1967 Per- cent	1968 Per- cent
United Nations.....	31.91	31.57
FAO.....	31.91	31.91
ICAO.....	31.28	31.28
ILO.....	25.00	25.00
IMCO.....	11.39	10.67
ITU.....	11.69	11.66
UNESCO.....	29.94	29.94
UPU.....	4.25	4.30
WHO.....	31.20	31.20
WMO.....	23.99	23.93
IAEA.....	31.87	31.86

## U.N. Scale

One of the important actions of the 22d General Assembly in the administrative and budgetary area was to approve a new scale of assessments for the apportionment of expenses of the United Nations for the 3-year period 1968-70. This scale was recommended to the Assembly by the Committee on Contributions, which consists of 10 experts who serve in their individual capacities. The Assistant Director for Statistical Stand-

ards of the U.S. Bureau of the Budget, Raymond T. Bowman, is a member of the Committee.

The U.N. scale of assessments, within the limits prescribed by floor and ceiling principles, is based broadly upon relative capacity to pay, which is measured by comparing estimates of net national product at market prices subject to modifications for low per capita income. In determining the scale for 1968-70, the Committee on Contributions used the net national product of member states for the 3-year period 1963-65.

Under the floor principle, no member state is assessed less than .04 percent. With respect to the ceiling, the General Assembly, upon the initiative of the United States, decided in 1957 that "in principle, the maximum contribution of any one Member State to the ordinary expenses of the United Nations shall not exceed 30 percent of the total." In accordance with this principle, which is being implemented in stages, the Committee on Contributions recommended that the U.S. percentage share for the years 1968-70 be reduced from 31.91 to 31.57 percent.

During the debate in the Fifth Committee, the United States and a number of other countries supported the 1968-70 scale recommended by the Committee on Contributions. However, other delegations expressed res-

ervations. Doubts were raised about the relevancy and appropriateness of the criteria upon which the assessments were established or the manner in which they had been applied. Certain representatives complained that under the new scale the developed countries, with only a few exceptions, had received reductions while the assessments of many of the developing countries had been increased. Some countries also expressed the view that the Committee on Contributions should review the appropriateness of both the floor and ceiling principles.

On November 10 the scale of assessments recommended by the Committee on Contributions was adopted in the Fifth Committee of the General Assembly by a vote of 87 (U.S.) to 4, with 8 abstentions. An amendment proposed by Argentina, Kuwait, Singapore, and Spain, under which the General Assembly would have decided that the new scale should apply only to 1968 and would have requested the Committee on Contributions to recommend a new scale for 1969 and 1970 was defeated by a vote of 41 (U.S.) to 8 (Argentina, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Israel, Kuwait, Singapore, Somalia, and Spain), with 55 abstentions. The General Assembly approved the new scale of contributions on December 8 by a vote of 76 (U.S.) to 4, with 5 abstentions.

## Budgets: Specialized Agencies and IAEA

The assessed budgets of the specialized agencies and IAEA totaled about \$153.4 million in 1967 and increased by approximately \$12.6 million to

about \$166.0 million in 1968. The \$12.6 million increase compares with an increase of \$18.3 million in 1967 over 1966 assessments.

<i>Agency</i>	<i>1967</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>Difference</i>
FAO.....	\$23, 830, 000	\$27, 420, 000	+ \$3, 590, 000
ICAO.....	5, 559, 000	5, 515, 000	-44, 000
ILO.....	22, 472, 000	24, 836, 000	+2, 364, 000
IMCO.....	818, 000	963, 000	+145, 000
ITU.....	4, 712, 000	4, 985, 000	+273, 000
UNESCO.....	30, 100, 000	30, 100, 000	
UPU.....	1, 295, 000	1, 455, 000	+160, 000
WHO.....	53, 293, 000	57, 935, 000	+4, 642, 000
WMO.....	2, 141, 000	2, 587, 000	+446, 000
IAEA.....	9, 174, 000	10, 164, 000	+990, 000
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>153, 394, 000</b>	<b>165, 960, 000</b>	<b>+12, 566, 000</b>

Much of the total 1968 increase is attributable to rising prices and salary increments and increases. About one-half of the increases for the three agencies whose budgets rose the most (WHO, FAO, and ILO), or over \$5 million, is to maintain their 1967 level of operations.

WHO's program includes an increase of \$600,000 for education and training, with emphasis on the development of national teaching institutions and staffs and the training of multipurpose health auxiliaries. An increase of \$650,000 is for public health administration, inasmuch as the success of any nationwide system of basic health services is contingent on its planning and on the ability of the national health authority to provide the necessary technical guidance and administrative control. Increases are also provided for nursing training and administration, nutrition, small-pox eradication, work on parasitic diseases, and study of virus diseases.

FAO's program increase includes \$587,500 for further development of the Indicative World Plan, a long-range global assessment of the magnitude of the efforts that will be required to cope with the world food crisis.

Program increases in ILO are for the expansion of field operations and strengthening of management services. Other program increases are for social institutions' development, which comprises labor relations, labor legislation, and workers' education, and for improvement of conditions of work and life.

Other major increases include

\$155,000 for inauguration of WMO's World Weather Watch in 1968 and the expansion of IMCO activities resulting from the Torrey Canyon disaster—including the drafting of regulations in regard to navigation near coasts, and programs to study the design and construction of large oil tankers and the prevention of oil pollution.

The IAEA program increase provides for an expansion of the safeguards program, which is of vital interest to the United States, the development of a system for the collection and dissemination of nuclear information for peaceful purposes, and intensification of a joint FAO/IAEA project to increase food production through the use of atomic energy.

The President's March 15, 1966, memorandum to the Secretary of State concerning U.S. participation in international organizations stated that "if we are to be a constructive influence in helping to strengthen the international agencies so they can meet essential new needs, we must apply to them the same rigorous standards of program performance and budget review that we do to our own Federal programs." The President's memorandum pointed out that our purpose must be to see that future expansion of the activities of the agencies "is governed by the tests of feasibility and reasonableness," that funds are allocated "only to high priority projects," and that each international agency operates "with a maximum of effectiveness and economy."

The President's memorandum has formed the basis for U.S. policy on administrative and budgetary questions in international organizations. In carrying out this policy the United States has had the cooperation of an informal group of the major contributing nations of the free world. Permanent representatives of these nations hold periodic meetings at the

headquarters of the larger specialized agencies for consultation on programs and budgets. In addition, top-level representatives of these countries come together annually to review and coordinate overall policies. Joseph J. Sisco, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, attended such a meeting in Geneva in April 1967.

## Voluntary Programs

A number of programs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies are financed by voluntary contributions from participants rather

than by regular assessments on the members. U.S. contributions to the major programs in this category for the 1967 calendar year are as follows:

	<i>Amount (Thou- sands of dollars)</i>
U.N. Children's Fund . . . . .	\$13,000
U.N. Development Program . . . . .	70,000
U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees . . . . .	400
U.N. Institute for Training and Research:	
Regular contribution . . . . .	400
Stevenson Memorial Fellowships . . . . .	100
U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees	
Cash contribution . . . . .	15,300
Commodities . . . . .	8,900
U.N. Technical and Operational Assistance to the Congo . .	3,500
Special Contribution for Viet-Nam . . . . .	706
U.N./FAO World Food Program	
Cash contribution . . . . .	2,000
Commodities and shipping services . . . . .	49,100
IAEA Operational Program . . . . .	984

Descriptions of these programs, except for the program of U.N. Technical and Operational Assistance to the Congo, are contained elsewhere in this report. The Congo program, which started in 1960 shortly after the Congo gained its independence, is designed to provide experts and advisers needed to perform vital services until such time as trained Congolese are available to carry on the tasks. In 1967 experts and advisers

were provided in the important fields of agriculture, aviation, economic analysis, education, police training, public finance, public works, and transportation.

The U.N. program continued to be operated in 1967 as a funds-in-trust arrangement under which interested governments could make voluntary contributions. Its 1967 expenditures totaled \$5 million. The United States contributed \$3.5 million, or 70 per-

cent of the program's cost. In addition to the funds-in-trust, other assistance was provided through the UNDP, the specialized agencies, and

the Congolese Government. The latter contributed an estimated \$4.4 million in local currency as its self-help share of the cost of the U.N. program.

## Personnel

At the end of 1967 the total number of Americans employed in professional grades in the secretariats of the United Nations and specialized agencies was 765, compared with 704 in 1966. In the U.N. Secretariat alone Americans totaled 345 against 323 a year earlier. However, in the UNDP there was practically no change in the number of Americans employed—340 at the end of 1967; 341 at the end of 1966. Full employment conditions in the United States and other factors have kept American participation in the UNDP at a low level. Strenuous recruitment efforts will be needed to ensure that the United States makes its full contribution of expert manpower to the support of this program.

Concerning senior posts in the U.N. family of agencies, there was little change. With the retirement of Sir Alexander MacFarquhar from the post of Director of Personnel in the United Nations, William Cox of the United States was appointed Acting Director of Personnel. As a result of the reorganization of the upper echelon in the United Nations, 11 undersecretaries were designated, including Ralph Bunche of the United States who serves as Special Political Representative of the Secretary-General. A new level of Assistant Secretary-General was created, and for the time being David Vaughan, in charge of general services, is the only American in this grade. Robert Macy, formerly UNDP Resident Representative in Nigeria, was appointed the U.S. mem-

ber of the Inspection Unit, created by the U.N. family to examine the effectiveness and use made of their resources by the United Nations and the specialized agencies. Robert Oshins of the U.S. Department of Commerce was appointed Director of the Division of Industrial Institutions and Services in UNIDO. Finally, John Hall of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission was appointed Deputy Director General of IAEA, a post he had previously held.

The U.N. General Assembly at its 22d session adopted on December 19 a resolution on the composition of the Secretariat. By this resolution the number of positions used as the base for calculating the desirable ranges of employment for each country is raised from 1,500 to 2,000; this will permit the United States to have more members of the Secretariat within the limits of its new desirable range of 365 to 553 positions.

A second resolution, adopted by a vote of 88 to 0, with 30 abstentions (U.S.), invited the Secretary-General to take steps to achieve a better utilization of the linguistic abilities of the staff and a better balance among the working languages (English, French, Spanish) in the recruitment of staff at all levels. It also invited the Secretary-General to introduce an accelerated language instruction program for members of the Secretariat and a language bonus for professional staff who use two working languages,

with the understanding that the language bonus system would not be implemented before 1969.

The United States abstained on this resolution because it believed that the techniques proposed to achieve the

desired linguistic balance had not been carefully enough thought out, and that possible alternatives which might have achieved the same results at less cost had not been adequately considered.





# The Security Council

## *Members in 1967*

Permanent members	Term expired Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968
China	Argentina	Brazil
France	Bulgaria	Canada
U.S.S.R.	Japan	Denmark
United Kingdom	Mali	Ethiopia
United States	Nigeria	India

# The Economic and Social Council

## *Members in 1967*

Term expired Dec. 31, 1967	Term expires Dec. 31, 1968	Term expires Dec. 31, 1969
Cameroon	Czechoslovakia	Belgium
Canada	Iran	France
Dahomey	Morocco	Guatemala
Gabon	Panama	Kuwait
India	Philippines	Libya
Pakistan	Sweden	Mexico
Peru	U.S.S.R.	Sierra Leone
Romania	United Kingdom	Tanzania
United States	Venezuela	Turkey

ECOSOC held its 42d session in New York, May 8–June 6. It held the first part of its 43d session in

Geneva, July 11–August 4, and the resumed part in New York, November 1, 13, and 14, and December 18.

# United States Representation

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## United States Missions

### U.S. MISSION AT U.N. HEADQUARTERS IN NEW YORK (USUN)

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the Representative of the United States to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, transmitted normally by the Secretary of State, in U.N. bodies. It also serves as the channel of communication between the U.S. Government, on the one hand, and the U.N. organs, agencies, and commissions at the Headquarters and the delegations of other nations to the United Nations located in New York, on the other. It is a base of operations for the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly and to other U.N. organs and agencies when they meet in New York.

The structure, organization, and functions of the U.S. mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following factors:

1. The requirements of the U.N. Charter and the resolutions of the organs of the United Nations.

2. The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Cong.) as amended by Public Law 341 of the 81st Congress, and Public Law 206 of the 89th Congress.

3. Executive Order 10108.

4. Location of the Headquarters of the United Nations in the United States and the consequent need for the United States to assume the responsibilities of "host government."

5. The fact that the United States, in consequence of its leadership role in the United Nations, is represented on all organs and virtually all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The main source of policy guidance and strategical direction for the conduct of U.S. participation in the United Nations is the Department of State.

The chief of mission, who has the rank of ambassador, is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations and also represents the United States in the Security Council. He is assisted by a Deputy Representative, holding ambassadorial rank, who serves as his alternate. The U.S. Representative is also assisted by another Deputy Representative to the Security Council of ambassadorial rank. Other principal officers of the mission include the U.S. Representatives on the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, both of ambassadorial rank.

The mission has a staff consisting of a number of political, economic, social, financial, and legal advisers, public affairs specialists, and an administrative section. This staff assists the U.S. Representative in (1) planning the tactical pursuit of U.S. policy objectives in the light of the political, economic, and parliamentary situa-

tions in U.N. organs and bodies; (2) consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the U.N. Secretariat; (3) preparation of policy recommendations to the Department of State; (4) reporting to the Department of State on consultations and developments in the United Nations; (5) the discharge of the responsibilities of the United States as "host government," in particular those arising from the Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.) and the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 291, 79th Cong.), which deal *inter alia* with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; and (6) administering of all public affairs activities concerning U.S. participation in the United Nations at New York. The administrative section assists the U.S. Representative by (1) planning for and administering conference operations; (2) the provision of necessary research, reference, reporting, communications, and general services; and (3) the administration, personnel management, fiscal, protocol, and security functions of the U.S. mission.

#### **U.S. MISSION AT U.N. EUROPEAN OFFICE IN GENEVA**

The United States is represented at the European Office of the United Nations by a permanent mission at Geneva, Switzerland. Under the direction of the U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and other international organizations, the Geneva mission is responsible for relations with and for observing and reporting on activities in the political, economic, and social fields of the United Nations and the specialized agencies located in Geneva. These include the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, the

U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, and the World Meteorological Organization. In addition, the mission is responsible for relations with and reporting on the activities of other international organizations located in Geneva and for necessary liaison with the missions of other countries accredited to international organizations located in Geneva.

The chief of the mission reports directly to the Secretary of State and the Department of State. Instructions to the mission are sent by the Department of State. The mission works in close coordination with the U.S. Embassies and the U.S. Mission to the European Communities.

#### **OTHER U.S. MISSIONS**

In addition to the U.S. missions at the U.N. Headquarters in New York and the European Office of the United Nations at Geneva, the United States during 1967 maintained several special missions in order to participate effectively in the work of certain U.N. bodies located elsewhere.

A special U.S. mission, the Office of the U.S. Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization, was maintained in Montreal, Canada, and a U.S. mission to the International Atomic Energy Agency was maintained at Vienna, Austria, the Agency's headquarters.

In addition, the United States maintained in Paris a liaison group for relations with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and in Rome a similar group responsible for relations with the Food and Agriculture Organization.

# United States Representatives

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## THE UNITED NATIONS

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*U.S. Representative and Chief of U.S. Mission to the United Nations:*

Arthur J. Goldberg

*Deputy U.S. Representative and Deputy Representative in the Security Council:*

William B. Buffum

*Deputy U.S. Representative in the Security Council:*

Richard F. Pedersen

*U.S. Representative on the Economic and Social Council:*

Arthur E. Goldschmidt

*U.S. Representative on the Trusteeship Council:*

Eugenie M. Anderson

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## The General Assembly

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**FIFTH SPECIAL SESSION, NEW YORK, N.Y., APRIL 21-JUNE 13, 1967**

*Representatives:*

Arthur J. Goldberg

William B. Buffum

Richard F. Pedersen

Eugenie M. Anderson

Samuel C. Adams, Jr.

*Alternate Representatives:*

Garland R. Farmer, Jr.

Michael Iovenko

**FIFTH EMERGENCY SPECIAL SESSION, NEW YORK, N.Y., JUNE 17-SEPTEMBER 18, 1967**

*Representatives:*

Arthur J. Goldberg

Joseph J. Sisco

William B. Buffum

Richard F. Pedersen

**TWENTY-SECOND REGULAR SESSION, NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 19-DECEMBER 19, 1967**

*Representatives:*

Arthur J. Goldberg

William B. Buffum

L. H. Fountain

William S. Broomfield

Adrian S. Fisher

*Alternate Representatives:*

I. W. Abel

Robert S. Benjamin

Hector P. Garcia

Patricia R. Harris

Herbert R. O'Connor, Jr.

**SPECIAL COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

**U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee (UNSAC)**

*Representative:*

I. Isador Rabi

**U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)**

*Representative:*

Dr. Richard H. Chamberlain

**Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples**

*Representative:*

Eugenie M. Anderson

*Alternate Representative:*

Richard E. Johnson

**Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space**

*Representative:*

Arthur J. Goldberg

*Alternate Representatives:*

Legal: Leonard C. Meeker

Technical: Arnold W. Frutkin

## **Interim Committee of the General Assembly**

(Has not met since 1961)

### **Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations**

#### *Representative:*

Arthur J. Goldberg

#### *Alternate Representatives:*

William B. Buffum

Richard F. Pedersen

### **Collective Measures Committee**

This Committee, which has not met since 1954, reports to both the General Assembly and the Security Council

### **U.N. Conciliation Commission for Palestine**

#### *Representative:*

Seymour Maxwell Finger

### **U.N. Peace Observation Commission**

#### *Representative:*

Arthur J. Goldberg

### **U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) Advisory Commission (Beirut, Lebanon)**

#### *Representative:*

Dwight Porter

#### *Deputy Representative:*

Theodore A. Wahl

### **Special Committee on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation Among States**

#### *Representative:*

Herbert K. Reis

#### *Alternate Representative:*

James L. Tull

### **Disarmament Commission**

The Commission, which reports to both the General Assembly and the Security Council, did not meet in 1967.

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## **The Security Council**

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#### *Representative:*

Arthur J. Goldberg

#### *Deputy Representatives:*

William B. Buffum

Richard F. Pedersen

### **Military Staff Committee**

#### *Representatives:*

##### *Navy:*

Vice Adm. John S. McCain, Jr., USN  
(through Apr. 30)

Vice Adm. Andrew McB. Jackson, Jr.,  
USN (from May 1)

##### *Army:*

Lt. Gen. John L. Throckmorton, USA  
(through May 7)

Lt. Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster, USA  
(from May 8)

##### *Air Force:*

Lt. Gen. Thomas P. Gerrity, USAF  
(through July 31)

Lt. Gen. Hewitt T. Wheless, USAF  
(from Aug. 1)

#### *Deputy Representatives:*

##### *Navy:*

Capt. Arthur H. Warner, Jr., USN  
(through Jan. 30)

Comdr. E. Duane Kemp, USN (from  
Jan. 31 through July 20)

Capt. Archer R. Gordon, USN (from  
July 21)

##### *Army:*

Col. Clarence F. Nelson, USA (through  
May 21)

Col. Ernest P. Lasche, USA (from  
May 22)

##### *Air Force:*

Col. James M. Boyd, USAF

#### *Secretariat:*

Capt. Arthur H. Warner, Jr., USN  
(until Jan. 30)

Comdr. E. Duane Kemp, USN (from  
Jan. 31 through July 20)  
Capt. Archer R. Gordon, USN (from  
July 21)

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### The Trusteeship Council

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*Representative:*  
Eugenie M. Anderson  
*Alternate Representative:*  
Richard E. Johnson

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### The Economic and Social Council

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*Representative:*  
Arthur E. Goldschmidt  
*Deputy Representative:*  
Walter M. Kotschnig

#### FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS

*Human Rights:* Morris B. Abram  
*Narcotic Drugs:* Harry J. Anslinger  
*Population:* Ansley J. Coale  
*Social Development:*  
Marjorie McKenzie Lawson  
*Statistical:* Raymond T. Bowman  
*Status of Women:* Gladys Avery Tillett

#### REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMISSIONS

##### Africa

8th session (Lagos, Nigeria, Feb. 13-24,  
1967)  
*U.S. Observer:* Arthur E. Goldschmidt

##### Asia and the Far East

23d session (Tokyo, Japan, Apr. 3-17,  
1967)  
*U.S. Representative:*  
Arthur E. Goldschmidt  
*Alternate Representative:* Leonard Weiss

##### Europe

22d session (Geneva, Apr. 11-29, 1967)  
*U.S. Representative:* Eugene V. Rostow  
*Alternate Representatives:*  
Patricia R. Harris  
Henry Brodie

#### Latin America

12th session (Caraballeda, Venezuela,  
May 2-13, 1967)  
*U.S. Representative:* Sol M. Linowitz  
*Alternate Representative:* Milton Barall

#### UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND

*U.S. Representative, Executive Board:*  
P. Frederick DelliQuadri  
*Alternate Representative, Executive Board:*  
Katherine Bain

#### U.N./FAO WORLD FOOD PROGRAM

11th session, U.N./FAO Intergovern-  
mental Committee (Rome, Apr. 12-  
21, 1967)  
*U.S. Representative:* Herbert J. Waters  
*Alternate Representatives:*  
Stanley W. Phillips  
Robert Rossow, Jr.  
12th session (Rome, Oct. 5-14, 1967)  
*U.S. Representative:* Herbert J. Waters  
*Alternate Representatives:*  
Dorothy H. Jacobson  
Stanley W. Phillips  
Robert Rossow, Jr.

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### THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

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#### Food and Agriculture Organization

14th session FAO Conference (Rome,  
Nov. 4-23, 1967)  
*U.S. Representative:* Dorothy H. Jacob-  
son<sup>1</sup>  
*Alternate Representatives:*  
Ralph W. Phillips  
Robert Rossow, Jr.  
Herbert J. Waters  
48th, 49th, 50th sessions of FAO Council  
(Rome, June 12-23, Oct. 30-Nov. 2,  
Nov. 24, 1967)  
*U.S. Member:* Dorothy H. Jacobson  
*Alternate Members:*  
Ralph W. Phillips  
Robert Rossow, Jr.

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<sup>1</sup> While in Rome the Honorable Orville L. Freeman served as *ex officio* head of the U.S. delegation.

**Intergovernmental Maritime  
Consultative Organization**

5th session IMCO Assembly (London,  
Oct. 17-31, 1967)

*U.S. Representative:* William K. Miller

*Alternate Representative:*

Willard J. Smith

18th session IMCO Council (London,  
June 27-30, 1967)

*U.S. Representative:* William K. Miller

**International Bank for Reconstruction  
and Development**

*U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:*

Henry H. Fowler

*Alternate U.S. Governor:*

Eugene V. Rostow

*U.S. Executive Director:*

Livingston T. Merchant

*Alternate U.S. Executive Director:*

Emmet J. Rice

**International Civil Aviation Organization**

*U.S. Representative on the Council of  
ICAO:*

Nelson B. David

*Alternate Representative:*

John T. Brennan, until Aug. 8

George G. Sink, from Aug. 8

**International Development Association**

The Officers, Executive Directors, and  
Alternates are the same as those of the  
International Bank for Reconstruction  
and Development.

**International Finance Corporation**

*U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:*

Henry H. Fowler

*Alternate U.S. Governor:*

Eugene V. Rostow

*U.S. Executive Director:*

Livingston T. Merchant

*Alternate U.S. Executive Director:*

Emmet J. Rice

**International Labor Organization**

51st International Labor Conference  
(Geneva, June 7-29, 1967)

*U.S. Government Representatives:*

George L-P Weaver

George P. Delaney

*U.S. Employer Representative:*

Edwin P. Neilan

*U.S. Worker Representative:*

Rudolph Faupl

**International Monetary Fund**

*U.S. Governor, Board of Governors:*

Henry H. Fowler

*Alternate U.S. Governor:*

Eugene V. Rostow

*U.S. Executive Director:*

William B. Dale

*Alternate U.S. Executive Director:*

John S. Hooker

**International Telecommunication Union**

*U.S. Representative, Administrative  
Council:*

C. Hoyt Price

**U.N. Educational, Scientific, and  
Cultural Organization**

*U.S. Member Executive Board:*

William Benton

**Universal Postal Union**

*U.S. Chief of Delegation, Executive Council:*

R lph W. Nicholson

*U.S. Director of Delegation:*

Walter F. Sheble

**World Health Organization**

20th World Health Assembly (Geneva,  
May 8-27, 1967)

*Delegate and Chairman, U.S. Delegation:*

William H. Stewart

*U.S. Representative, Executive Board:*

Dr. James Watt

*Alternate U.S. Representative:*

Dr. Charles L. Williams (resigned July 1967)

**World Meteorological Organization**

5th WMO Congress (Geneva, Apr. 3-28, 1967)

*Principal Delegate and Chairman, U.S. Delegation:*

Robert M. White

*U.S. Representative, Executive Committee:*

Robert M. White

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**OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

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**International Atomic Energy Agency**

11th General Conference (Vienna, September 26-Oct. 2, 1967)

*U.S. Representative:* Glenn T. Seaborg

*U.S. Member, Board of Governors:*

Henry D. Smyth









